THE DELHI UNIVERSITY PUBLICATIONS

NO. I.

THE BIRTH-PLACE

OF

KALIDASA.

LACHHMI DHAR.

(6)

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WITH NOTES, REFERENCES, AND APPENDICES, ETC.

BY

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TO THE SACRED MEMORY

OF

MY FATHER

PANDIT BANSI DHAR JEE KALLA GURU.

PREFACE.

This paper on the birth-place of Kalidasa embodies a series of university-lectures, delivered to the post-graduate students, at the University of Delhi. A public lecture on the subject was also delivered at St. Stephen's College, Delhi, under the presidentship of the Hon'ble Mr. Khaparde, an old and able scholar of Sanskrit, who in his concluding speech remarked that he agreed with the lecturer in thinking that Kalidasa was a native of Kashmir. No less encouraging were the remarks conveyed to the present writer, by Raja Hari Kishen Kaul M.A., C.I.E., a veteran scholar, Mahamahopadhyaya Vidya Sagar Har Narain Shastri, Mr. Shyama Sunder Misra and the other Maharastra scholars of Sanskrit who attended the meeting and felt impressed with the arguments in favour of Kashmir being the birth-place of Kalidasa. A demand was made for publication of the paper. The Academic Council of the Delhi University having received high opinions of the paper, from Dr. Ganga Nath Jha of Allahabad and Dr. Dhruva of the Benares University, recommended its publication to the executive council and the paper is now before the learned scholars in its present form, to judge what worth it is.

In writing this paper, I flatter myself with two pieces of research; first, I have discovered (Have I?) the birth-place of Kalidasa, secondly, his philosophy of life, that is a *keynote* to his poetry;—most fascinating study that is not yet taken up by any student of Kalidasa. Indeed, it is charming to note that with the fire of this imagination Kalidasa combines the cool contemplation of a philosopher. The reader will find that the plots and incidents in the works of Kalidasa are modelled on the lines of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir with its initial *curse*, and a fixed period of separation, and final union by *recognition*. A christian student of Kalidasa will be interested to note a general affinity between the Christian thought and that of Kalidasa, which affinity, no doubt, is based on the affinity between Christianity and the Saiva Siddhanta of Kashmir, which Kalidasa closely follows.

Like Christianity and some forms of Hinduism, Kalidasa believes in *personal* God or Creator (जगत: पितरौ), in world as an expression of His love (पार्वती परमेश्वरौ) रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरेस्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा—thus Kalidasa approaches nature through *Love* only; (see note 128—131); he also believes in *suffering* as an instrument of love and a necessary means to the realization of God's power and joy क्लेश: फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते K. S.; as well as in the utility of experience or creation for purposes of *recognition* of unity of the Divine *love* (see note 146).

The initial curse (शाप) that produces a gap in the unity of love, in Kalidasa, (see note 165—168) bears resemblance with

the Christian idea of initial sin that separates man from God; and the idea of service as the rule of conduct on earth (अन्योन्यकृत्यैः, नयतमुभयलोकानुग्रह श्लाघनीयैः Sak.VII). and of God's grace-अनुग्रह (see note 144) and of prayer and devotion (cf. सस्थाणुः स्थिर भक्तियोगसुलभः V.U.I.) (also cf. भावैकरसंमनः of Parvati K.S.) as a means to realiziation of God are in total agreement with Christianity. But Kalidasa in conformity with the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir adds a thought to Christianity and the existing beliefs of his time, in India, outside Kashmir, in considering *recognition* as the only way to realization of God's *power* (शक्ति) in man; cf. प्रथमाईदृशोऽनुरागाअभिज्ञानमपेक्षते (Sak. VI)—for he brings about union of love in his works always through *recognition* (see notes 165—168.)

All these meanings will be brought home to the reader's mind, if he tries to follow the *Dhvani* of the writings of Kalidasa. Kalidasa is noted for his suggestive style of writing and he is such a perfect master of the art of expressing meaning by suggestion that his poetic talents may be supposed to be cultivated in the country, namely Kashmir, which in later times gave birth to a definite school of rhetoricians that recognized Dhvani, above *riti* or *alankara*, as the essence of poetry. Indeed, the striking note of the works of Kalidasa is the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, that gave wings to his poetry, and that adds a unique charm to the study of his works which can no longer be considered as based on love-intrigues; but in the light of the Pratyabhijna, they will be considered as having a philosophical basis, (see note 129) and full of inspiration of the Divine—the True, the Good, and the Beautiful. It will not be difficult to find that the home of the Pratyabhijna is the home of Kalidasa, that is, Kashmir. (See pp. 26—28, with notes.)

It may be that some of the arguments in this paper may appear weak to the readers—which is possible in a mass of cumulative evidence that I have supplied; especially when my knowledge of Kashmir is not based on personal visit to the country and is derived from books only, but I hope, the main thesis will not be rejected on the strength of an isolated example or examples, and the weight of authority will be carefully balanced.

I hope, my muslim friends will forgive me for some historical allusions to the past Moslem severities in Kashmir, which, I had to adduce, to explain some important points relating to the tradition of the birth-place of Kalidasa in Kashmir and gaps in the continuity of Sanskrit literature. I do not mean any reflections on the great Faith of Islam or the Muslim community—that is not my line. My feeling, naturally, is of reverence to all Faiths. But it must be understood, here, that I am dealing with *history* which can not be watered down. I thought this word of explanation was necessary in these days of mutual bickerings that are a disgrace to our public life in India.

Finally, I must offer my grateful thanks to my esteemed friend and colleague W. H. Padley Esq; M. A. who took pains to correct quite a large number of proofs of this book; but during his absence in Kashmir, no adequate arrangements could be made for correcting the proofs—I having fallen ill, the whole matter was left in the hands of the press. Unfortunately, some misprints have crept in. I therefore subjoin an errata towards the end, which will not, however, indicate errors of diacritical marks, broken letters, or such obvious mistakes as could be made out by the reader himself. My thanks are also due to my old pupils and friends Mr. Kalyan Chandra M.A., Mr. Indra Narain M.A., and Mr. Kanti Pershad M. A. who helped me in various ways in preparing this book.

Reference to notes in this book denotes the notes under 'Notes and References', reference to pages is to the pages of this book. The published edition of the Nilmat that I have consulted is, unfortunately, not free from errors. However, I have not 'cooked' its text or the number of the verses either, though I have made necessary abridgements for my purpose. (see appendix A). An accurate edition of the Nilmat is still a desideratum.

Considerations of space did not permit me to send my full notes to the press—they were miserably cut down. It may be, that in some places my meaning may not be as clear as I desired it to be. None is more conscious than myself regarding the shortcomings of this paper. I shall be grateful to my readers if they help me with their sympathetic criticism.

LACHHMI DHAR,

September 1, 1926. St. Stephen's College,

DELHI.

The GRAND MESSAGE of Kalidasa, in terms of the Pratyabhijna Philosophy of Kashmir :—

ये, केनापि आशयवशेन शापादिना वा मूढाः सन्तोऽपि, प्रागभ्यस्त-स्वात्मज्ञानवासनाप्रबोधानुगृहीताः, स्वात्मस्थितिं च लभन्ते ।

सर्वे स्वात्ममहेश्वर प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् तन्मया भवन्ति ।

(Com. Y. R., on P. S., pp. 82.)
(cf., notes, 165—168.)

ABBREVIATIONS.

ARCH. SURV	...	Archaelogical Survery of India.
H. C. C.	...	Hara Charitchintamani of Jayaratha. Ed. Siradatta Nirnaya Sagar, Bomb. 1897.
IMP. GAZ.	...	Imperial Gazetteer of India, Hunter.
IS. PR. VI.	...	Isvara Pratyabhijna Vimarsini Vol. I. II. Kashmir Series.
J. B. O. R. S.	...	Journal of Bihar Orissa Research Society.
K. R.	...	Commentary of Kshema Raja on S.S; S.C.
K. S.	...	Kumara Sambhava, ed. Kale, Bombay, 1914.
K. S. S.	...	Katha Sarit Sagara of Soma deva, Nirnaya Sagar; Bombay, 1915.
LAWRENCE	...	Valley of Kashmir, O. U. P. 1895.
MBH.	...	The Mahabharata ed. Krishnacharya, Nirnaya Sagar, Bomb. 1906.
M. D. (U).	...	Meghaduta (Uttara), Nirnaya Sagar, Bomb. 1887.
M. M.	...	Malavikagni Mitra, ed. Pandit, Bomb. Sansk. Series 1869.
N. M.	...	Nilmat Purana ed. Kanji Lal and Jagaddhar Zadu, Panjab Sansk. Book Depot, Lahore.
P. P.	...	Padma Purana.
P. S.	...	Paramartha Sara of Abhinava Gupta, Kashmir Series.
Pr. Hr.	...	Pratyabhijna Hridaya (Kashmir).
R. S.	...	Ritu Samhara, Venkateshvara press, Bombay.
R. T.	...	Raja Tarangini of Kalhana ed. Stein. Sansk. Text – Education Society press, Bombay. Eng. Trans.—Vol. I. II. Archibald Constable Westminister.
R. V.	...	Raghuvansa ed. Nandargikara, Poona,
SAK.	...	Sakuntala ed. Kale, Oriental publishing Company Bombay, 1907.
S. C.	...	Stava Chintamani of Bhatta Narayana, Kashmir Series 1918.
S. D.	...	Siva Drishti. (Kashmir).
S. P.	...	Siva Purana.
S. P. D.	...	St. Petersburg Sanskrit Dictionary.
S. S.	...	Siva Sutras, Kashmir Series.
S. V.	...	Siva Sutra Vimarsini (Kashmir Series).
Tan. Sar.	...	Tantra Sara (Kashmir).
V. D. C.	...	Vikramanka deva charitam of Bilhana. Bomb. Sansk. Series 1875.
V. U.	...	Vikrama Urvasi ed. Pandit, Bomb. Sansk. Series 1889.
Y. R.	...	Yoga Raja commentator of Paramartha Sara.

THE BIRTH-PLACE OF KALIDASA.

The last century witnessed many improvements in the realm of science and art. It was full of events and discoveries that revolutionized the thought of the world. One important event in this century was the 'discovery' of Sanskrit literature by the West.

The influences of Sanskrit studies [1] that followed the 'discovery' as it is called, are now beginning to be felt among the thinking people of the West. The two sciences of comparative philology and comparative mythology, whose foundations were laid by the Sanskrit studies in the West, have opened large vistas of human thought and pointed a kinship and affinity between the Aryan nations of the world that will go a long way, let us hope, to remove the racial and national prejudices that are so rampant to-day!

But the best proofs of this discovery are obtained in India—the home of Sanskrit studies. The Sanskrit studies that were slowly dying out in India under the persecution of the Mohammedan rulers, were soon rejuvenated with the fresh air that came in with the British in India. The historical and the humanitarian interest of the subject at once captivated the minds of the Western scholars and a new school of Sanskrit studies was founded in the East. Thus all our known poets were thrown in the furnace of modern criticism with the result that most of them came out with still greater effulgence and lustre around them.

One of these poets is the famous Kalidasa, whose birth-place we now discuss. No doubt, Kalidasa had already received his due share of encomium [2] from his countrymen; but in the days of our national degeneracy, interest in Kalidasa was flagging [3] and his high throne of honour was being usurped by clever and witty writers and versifiers, and it appears, that it was perhaps just at the point of his vanishing from our midst, that Kalidasa was picked up by the West and defended and applauded with such fervour and enthusiasm as he rightly deserved. Heaps of praise have been showered upon him by the Western critics. Cowell called him the 'Virgil of India.' Goethe expatiates on his famous work thus:—

> "Would'st thou the young year's blossoms and the fruits of its decline?
>
> And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured, feasted, fed?
>
> Would'st thou the Earth and Heaven itself in one sole name combine?
>
> I name thee, O Sakuntala! and all at once is said."

Sir Williams Jones has described him as the Shakespeare of India. But the modern critics go still further and they point out, that as Shakespeare excels in his powers of analysis, in the art of delineation of human character as it is ; Kalidasa excels in his powers of synthesis, in the art of delineation of character as it ought to be ; Shakespeare aims at characterization, while the aim of Kalidasa is perfection. But the muse of Shakespeare cannot lead us beyond the experience of our physical and mental life on earth, while the poetic imagination of Kalidasa can soar up to greater heights, to the land of spiritual experience, and thus enrich our soul with the happy visions of the 'unseen.' The art of transfiguration of physical things into objects of spiritual *reality* constitutes a rare and superior gift of Kalidasa. Again, Kalidasa is the poet of Beauty, *par excellence.* He thus, together with Shakespeare, is said to rank foremost among all the 'sons of the Muse' and is recognized [4] as the Prince among all the poets.

These are some of the glowing tributes paid to our poet by some of the ablest critics of to-day. Now, having formed such an opinion as this about Kalidasa, it would be natural for us to enquire in what age of the earth did this brightest star of poetry shine in the Indian firmament, how did he influence his people around him, and what part of the country could claim to be his birth-place? Our interest in the subject is not purely antiquarian and meant only to satisfy a mere curiosity ; it is something more than that—it has a literary purpose. All literary critics agree that a poet is as much a creature of his time as its creator. Thus for the purpose of a fuller and deeper appreciation of our poet, it is necessary for us to know the date when he lived, the country where he was born and where he received his education and culture, and the society in which he moved.

We shall fully discuss the date of our poet on another occasion in the light of the observations that we make here. In this paper however, we shall make an enquiry about the birth-place of Kalidasa where he received his early training and character, and also briefly point out his later journeyings in life—where he worked for his people and guided them by his inspired writings.

But the task of determining the birth-place of Kalidasa is by no means an easy one. The poet refrains from giving any reference to himself in his works—he is so modest! He does not boast of his learning like other poets and does not present his pedigree-table before his audience. Like the stars he always shines, but speaks not of himself! Again, he is a man of such wide and universal sympathies, possessing such a thorough national bent of mind, that it is not always easy to trace him from his writings to the particular part or parts of the country where he was born and where he lived the greater part of his life. Kalidasa was indeed a national poet of India and he sang songs for the glory of the whole Indian nation. He is the one darling of the Indian people. Indian culture has found it

best and noblest expression in him. By temperament, Kalidasa was an Indian first and an Indian last. But his patriotism was not of a narrow type. It was saturated with the spirit of universal love. Thus we note that the poet refrains from giving out the particulars of his birth-place to any of his casual attendants. One must wait upon him almost day and night, accompany him wherever he goes, see what he sees, think what he thinks, then it will be suggested to one who the poet was and where he was born. Thus the task of discovering the birth-place of Kalidasa is beset with difficulties which can only be overcome by our patient and intensely critical study of his writings and a skilful handling of the extensive materials relating to his works and philosophy. We have not yet made such a thorough and critical study of his works or of his art and mind and therefore not only do we not know his date and birth-place but also the great and uplifting message that he has left for struggling humanity.

Before we proceed to discuss our own data regarding the birth-place of our poet, we should like to make a passing reference to some of the current theories on the subject. Indian tradition is divided on this point, the one points to Dhārā, the other to Ujjain, in Malawa, as the birth-place of Kalidasa. But this tradition regarding his birth-place is as unreliable as the tradition of his date about 57 B. C., unless it is supported by independent evidence: tradition records all kinds of inpecent stories about Kalidasa, but in face of the highly moral tone and durpose of his works, nobody is going to give credence to them—they are, as M. M. Haraprasad Shastri has pointed out, merely the creations of degenerate minds in the days of our national degeneracy. No doubt Kalidasa shows his great intimacy with Ujjain [5] and the adjoining Malawa country, but this intimacy can be explained by his long residence in Ujjain which need not be his birth-place. M. M. Haraprasad Shastri lends his support to the Malawa theory, and on the basis of a somewhat detailed description of the Malawa country—especially the mention of an 'unimportant' temple of Skanda [6], in the vicinity of Dasapura in Malawa, as a halting-place for the Cloud during its progress to Alaka, and on the basis of a mention of the *familiar* and sportive glances [7] of the ladies of Dasapura, he concludes, that Kalidasa was a native of Dasapura in the Western Malawa [8].

But this is hardly convincing. For the temple of Skanda [9] who is known as a form of Siva himself, wherever it may be situated, has a peculiar importance for Kalidasa who was a devout worshipper of Siva. Kalidasa would not therefore permit the Cloud to pass away without paying his homage to Skanda, a form of his favourite deity. Worship of Skanda was not limited to the Malawa country either, where alone Kalidasa could have learnt it. We know that it was prevalent in Kashmir, in ancient times, as it is today.[10] Kalidasa might have known it in Kashmir which might be his home, and he could not be expected to ignore his favourite deity, when he was away from home, out in the Malawa Country. Again, *familiarity* with the glances of the women of Dasapura—if the word परिचित in the context can be so interpreted, might as well be explained as based on a longer period of sojourn in

the town which need not be our poet's birth-place. Kalidasa, on the assumption of a somewhat detailed description of a certain part of the country, might as well belong to any part of India, such as Ayodhya, Muttra, the Vindhya country, Madras, Berars, Bihar or Bengal, whose more or less detailed and accurate descriptions are supplied by him in his writings. [11]

Indeed a writer in the 'Pravasi [12] raises the question if Kalidasa was not a Bengali. The writer is under the misapprehension that Kalidasa begins his calendar year with the month of 'Ashad', with which the writer believes the Bengal calendar commenced sometime ago. But the reasons why Kalidasa begins his Meghaduta with the *first* of 'Ashad', are fully explained by Mallinath; [13] and those who want Kalidasa to be still more exact in dates should satisfy themselves by thinking that Kalidasa allowed at least eleven days for the Cloud to pass over to the Himalayas in the extreme north from the hills of the Ram Giri, so that when the Cloud meets the Yakhsha's wife probably on the 11th of Ashad, then from the 'Ekadashi' of 'Ashad' to the 'Ekadashi' of 'Kartika,' it would be exactly four months, for which period the Yaksha prayed his wife to keep herself happy and not mind his absence. Besides this, the writer seems to forget that the 'Ritusamhar' begins with the month of Jyestha and not that of 'Ashad.' Again, it is pointed out by some zealous advocates of the Bengal theory that Kalidasa could not belong to any province outside Bengal, for he mentions 'tamarind', [14] a product of Bengal. On that line of argument, a Kashmiri would not belong to Kashmir if he mentioned in his writings salt, which was not a product of Kashmir, and on the same ground, a Bengali would cease to be a Bengali if he mentioned in his writings saffron, which was a product of Kashmir only. We do not suppose that the trade-routes for such well-known commodities, between different parts of the country, were blocked in ancient times! Indeed, whatever meagre details Kalidasa supplies about Bengal, they can be explained by his visit to the country. Rice, that is characteristic of Bengal, is mentioned by Kalidasa. But rice attracts his attention wherever he goes, for he himself was a native of a rice-producing country, other than Bengal, as we shall presently see. Moreover, the tradition [15] among the Pandits of Bengal—that when Kalidasa came to Bengal, Saraswati went to receive him, does not support the theory that Kalidasa was a native of Bengal.

Another theory is that Kalidasa was probably a native of the Vidarbha country, as he followed the Vaidarbhi style in his writings[15a]. Our answer is that Kalidasa might have lived for sometime in the Vidarbha country, but it was not necessary for his adopting the style that he should be a native of that country. Kalidasa was certainly a *follower* of the Vaidarbhi style but not its *founder*. Malavika the Princess of Vidarbha, who appears in the Malavikagnimitra, as dressed in the Vaidarbhi style, [16] might suggest the characteristic *chaste* poetic style of Vidarbha that was *already* in vogue, and was so well-known to the people even outside Vidarbha. It suited the genius of Kalidasa who adopted it as his style of writing. Asvaghosha who lived long before the time of Kalidasa and who is not known to have lived in the Vidarbha

country may be said to have followed the Vaidarbhi style, which finds its mention long before Kalidasa in the Bharata's Nâtyashastra, and which may also be noted in the Girnar inscription of the reign of Mahākshatrapa Rudradaman, about 150 A. D. Certainly the idea is not that the Vaidarbhi style is followed only by the residents of Vidarbha and Gaudi by the residents of the Gauda country only. Bilhana the Kashmirian poet praises the Vaidarbhi style, himself follows it, talks of hundreds of books written in that form of poetry and regards Kashmir as the home of the poetry.[16a] This theory therefore need not detain us any longer.

We now refer to an important theory[17] that comes from Dr Bhaudaji, that deserves our careful consideration. Dr. Bhaudaji writes thus:—"Kalidasa although a resident of Ujjain, which, he notices in his works with evident predeliction, was in all likelihood a native of Kashmir or of a conterminous province". Unfortunately Dr. Bhaudaji based his theory of the home of Kalidasa principally on his theory of the personal identity of Kalidasa with Matrigupta, the King of Kashmir. His Matrigupta theory having fallen through, for want of proper support, his theory of Kashmir or an adjoining district as the probable birth-place of Kalidasa also received no attention. But Dr. Bhaudaji also takes a *prima facie* view of things, and points out that as Kalidasa draws his illustrations chiefly from the natural history and physical geography of Northern India, especially the Himalayas, the writer believes that in Kashmir or its neighbourhood the birth-place of Kalidasa ultimately will be found. Kalidasa is the only great Sanskrit poet, who, so far as the writer is aware, describes a living saffron plant. "The plant we know grows in Kashmir and the regions west of it. He shows an acquaintance with Chinese pottery and silks. His Kings are attended by Yavana women (Greek or Bactrian)[17a] with bows in their hands. 'The towery summits' of the Himalayas decked with 'diadems of snow', 'the peaks where sunshine ever reigns' the mossy cavern, the mountain lakes, the wild kine,—these and other allusions indicate extensive observation and familiarity with the gorgeous scenery of the Himalaya mountains, with an ardent love of nature."

But M.M. Haraparshad Shastri[18] points out that as Kalidasa was a great genius, his partiality for the Himalayas can be explained by his love of nature. Quite so. But "love of nature" which Kalidasa had, does not preclude the possibility of his being a native of Kashmir—the *character* of that love might even determine his home in the Himalayas. At any rate, we require something more than a mere description of the scenes and sights of the Himalayas—something that cannot be accounted for by mere love of nature to prove that Kalidasa was a hillman, a native of the Himalayas and not of the plains below, though the presumption of Kalidasa belonging to North India, on the basis of his reference to the living saffron plant, Chinese pottery, silks and the Greek women remains as strong as ever. Now this presumption has got to be proved. We therefore take leave of Dr. Bhaudaji at this point and

note, that though he had hit very near the mark when he suggested 'Kashmir or a conterminous province' as the probable home of Kalidasa, yet his theory failed to receive recognition as it was not yet definite and was still lacking the support of proper evidence. We definitely hold that Kalidasa was a native of Kashmir, and our reasons are set out below. We thus proceed.

First of all, in order to prove the birthplace of our poet, the best thing would be to get hold of some direct evidence. But we do not possess such direct evidence in the case of Kalidasa. Inthe absence of direct evidence therefore, our business would be to collect such evidences as would cumulatively prove the point in question. But it must be borne in mind that by birthplace of Kalidasa, we do not mean his place of birth only, but a place where Kalidasa was born and bred up to the age he had received his full character and training so as to be able to reflect it in his writings. It is of no consequence to know the locality where a baby was born, unless it played an important part in the building of his character and education.

Now if we want to make a search for the birthplace of our poet from his writings, and if the poet is silent about it, we shall naturally try to find from his works, what part of the country he knows *most*, and to avoid further suspicions about his being a mere visitor to that part of the country, we shall try to find from the *manner* of his description of the country, whether he looked upon it as a mere visitor, or like a native with peculiar affection for it. Still further we shall try to find how far the associations of a particular country—that may be his home, are working uppermost in the poet's mind, how spontaneously they present themselves before his mind's eye, how unconsciously the poet glides into those old memories that persistently stick to him wherever he goes! But that may not be enough. We may be curious to know whether the poet reveals any definite knowledge of the local sites and usages peculiar to that country. We shall also be curious to learn whether the poet refers to any social customs and conventions, and such other facts and miscellaneous matters as are known and can only be known to the people of that part of the country, and whether the poet records such knowledge of facts not after the manner of a borrower or a visitor to that country but as one who is so familiar with it that it does not strike him as a strange thing but as something that is natural and perhaps universal—like a native indeed!

We shall further desire to know whether the poet's religion is the same *throughout* as that of the country to which he may belong ; for one generally takes one's religion from one's birth.

And last of all, we shall certainly be pleased to learn if there is any important *suggestion* of the poet's home in his own writings, especially when the poet is known for his suggestive style of writing.

Now if all these proofs enumerated above support each other and point in the same direction we shall at once conclude with a very high degree of certainty where the home of the poet is. Here are these five proofs that determine the birthplace of Kalidasa in Kashmir;—

I. (*a*) Disproportionately detailed and minute physical and natural description of the Himalayas, especially the northern part of Kashmir, or more definitely the Sindh Valley in Kashmir.

(*b*) Feeling shown for and patriotic references to Kashmir.

II. Unconscious and spontaneous reference to scenes, sites and legends of Kashmir.

III. Direct allusions to local sites and usages, social customs and conventions along with such other miscellaneous matters as are preferably known only to the natives of Kashmir.

IV. The personal religion of Kalidasa was the 'Kashmir Saivism,' known as the Pratyabhijna School of Philosophy, which has its home in Kashmir and which was not known outside Kashmir during the days of Kalidasa, till after its popularization by Somanand in the ninth century A. D.

V. The argument of Meghaduta points to Kashmir as the home of Kalidasa.

—:o:—

Now the work before us is to collect evidence from the accepted works of Kalidasa and to show how far it agrees with the proofs already given. Let us take the proofs one by one :—

I (a) Disproportionately detailed and accurate description of the Himalayas especially the northern part of Kashmir or more definitely the Sindh Valley in Kashmir.

We notice that out of the seven known and accepted works of Kalidasa, there is not one that makes no reference to the north or the north-west of India, and that the description of the Himalayas easily outweighs all other descriptions. The whole of the Kumara-Sambhava, half of the Meghaduta, the first and the fourth acts of the Vikramorvashi, the seventh act of the Sakuntala, a portion of the first, the second, and the fourth cantos of the Raghuvansa, almost all his works are full of descriptions of the Himalayas, not on the eastern side but towards the north, in or about Kashmir itself.

The residence of Siva in the Kumara-Sambhava is laid on a high summit of the Himalayas—'Himādri Prastha,'[19] where the Gangā washes the "Deva Dāru" trees and where Nandi[20] with other attendants always waits upon Siva who is described as 'Bhûtapati,' and his residence as "Bhûtapaterāspadam."[21] The site, namely the Himādriprastha, can be identified with the mountain-mass of the Haramukuta peaks,[22] with the adjoining Tirthas of Bhûtesvara and the Nandikshetra, in Kashmir. The sites in Kashmir are crowned with the "Deva Dāru" trees, and washed by the "Haramukuta Gangā." These sites are held sacred to this day among the natives of Kashmir. The Bhûtesvar Tirtha is denoted by practically the same name in the Kumara-Sambhava as the abode of Bhûtapati:—भूतपतेरास्पदम्. The Nandikshetra is denoted by the presence of Nandi with other attendants that wait upon Siva in the Kumara-Sambhava. No doubt Nandi always appears with Siva and any site in the Himalayas with its "Deva Dāru" and the Gangà could serve as an abode of Siva. But the point is what particular site, if any, Kalidasa had in his mind when he gave the above description. The *specific* designation of the abode of Siva as the 'Bhûtapater Āspadam' in the Kumara-Sambhava might *suggest* the only Bhûtesvar Tirtha that is in Kashmir, and which is characterized by its 'Deva Dāru' trees washed by the stream of the Gangă. The suggestion gains ground if we bear in mind that the 'appropriateness' of epithets is recognized as a great poetic merit among Sanskrit writers,[23] and the appropriateness of the term भूतपतेरास्पदं appears to lie in its suggestion of the real or geographical 'Bhutesh' in Kashmir. The term *Bhutapati* appears again in the same context in the Kumara-Sambhava III 74. Indeed the very name '*Bhûtesvara*,' suggesting the site of that name, occurs in the Raghuvansa II 46, which describes Nikumbha as the 'Bhûtesvara Pārsva Varti,' who appears at some distance in the forest of the Vasishtha Asrama, which as we shall presently see, is situated close upon two miles from the very *Bhûtesvara* Tirtha in Kashmir. All this makes it highly probable that in describing the abode of Siva,' Kalidasa had some definite site in

mind, which was known by a special designation of Siva as Bhûtapati or Bhûtesvara, which as the name and the topography suggest, can be no other than the 'Bhûtesh' or modern 'Butes' in Kashmir.

Now the Vasishtha Asrama [24] of the Raghuvansa, with its 'Deva Dāru' trees, its caves and forests, and the descending waters of the Ganga—'*Gangâ Prapâta*,' can be no other than the Vasishtha Asrama of Kashmir [25]—modern Vângath, situated about two miles below the Bhutesh, which receives the waters of the Ganga as it descends from the '*Gangodbhava*' on the Haramukuta Mountain and flows with the waters of the Kanaka-Vāhini.[25a] The Vasishtha Asrama in the Raghuvansa promises a son to Dilipa like the 'Bhûtesh,' round about the Kashmirian Vasishtha Asrama, which according to Kalhana[26] bestowed a son on Asoka. Ample scenery of the Himalayas is described in connection with these sites. These sites being located in Kashmir, therefore the scenery of these sites—real as they are, must also belong to Kashmir. And we are glad to note, that in the works of Kalidasa, the location of the birch trees, the 'Deva Dâru' trees and the musk-deer on the higher altitudes of the Kashmirian mountains is so exact and true; [27] and the domestication of the musk-deer, the use of the birch-bark as the writing material; lakes, tarns, glades and forest—all are described with such accuracy[28], that they cannot be the result of more hearsay or a casual visit only, but presuppose a long familiarity and intimate companionship with them on the mountains of Kashmir. We do not know of any Indian poet, outside Kashmir, who has given such an accurate miniature painting of the scenes of the Himalayas. It would not help us much if we supposed that Kalidasa in his writings dwelt so much on the Himalayas only because he was a genius, for there were other genuises equally great if not greater than Kalidasa, such as Bhava-Bhuti who drew his inspiration from the Vindhya mountains to which he belonged, and not from the Himalayas. No doubt a gift of genius is necessary to paint the beauty, but a *distant* genius however gifted he may be cannot enter into *exact* details that can only be known by personal observation. Some personal touch of a very *close* type is necessary to explain the frequent retreat of our poet to the Himalayas, though he had lived on the Vindhyas too. We must remember that Kalidasa goes to the distant Himalayas not for its picturesque scenery *first*, but for its sites. It is obvious that it is not mere love of nature that draws him to the Himalayas. Scenery appears as incidental to the sites to which the poet frequently retreats. Sites such as the Bhûtesh, the Nandikshetra, the Vasishtha Asrama, and a host of other places in Kashmir that we shall presently identify do not enjoy any popularity outside Kashmir. They only point to a Kashmirian writer.

I (b) Feeling shown for the Himalayas and the patriotic mention of Kashmir in the Himalayas.

(*i*) In the Kumara-Sambhava I.3., we note with what fondness Kalidasa seeks to defend the Himalayas [29] against its only drawback, namely, *Hima* or frost. 'Hima' [30] in this passage can not mean snow. Mallinath is wrong there: for 'snow-capped' mountains are praised by Kalidasa who uses the word हिम in the sense of frost elsewhere [31] too. Here, *Hima* seems to signify the huge frost which on the Kashmirian Himalayas, in the words of Lawrence, [32] seems to freeze the damp moisture of the air and destroys trees and even congeals eggs. Kalidasa here refers to the terrible cold of Kashmir, which in the Kashmirian language is known as the 'Kut Kushu.' There is a tradition in the Nilmat history of Kashmir that in ancient times, people lived in Kashmir only for six months and left it during the winter on account of its intense cold or frost—the "*sān māsikajvara*" [33]. Kalidasa appears to have in mind some such hardship of living in the Himalayan country which may be Kashmir, when he refers to the defect noted above.

(*ii*) In the seventh act of the Sakuntala, Kalidasa presents the scene of the Máricha Asrama [34] with its adjoining 'Tapo Bhûmayaha' which can easily be identified with Kashmir. The Máricha Asrama does not at all occur in the original story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata[34a]. It is the poet's own creation, and he creates it for three definite purposes which show his great regard and affection for Kashmir and point it as his home. First, Kalidasa in the Sakuntala would not allow Dushyanta to go back to his capital after his visit to Indraloka without enjoying a visit to the poet's own native-country which he believed not only to be the most beautiful and the most sacred spot on earth, but also the most comforting and home-like place known to him. "This place is more comforting than Heaven. I seem to be plunged in a 'lake of nectar'."—

स्वर्गादधिकतरं निर्वृतिस्थानम् ।अमृतह्रदमिवावगाढोऽस्मि (Sak. VII.)

This remark of Dushyanta as he enters Kashmir is full of significance. We all know that Kalidasa is noted for his appropriate similes. The country is here compared to a *lake* of nectar—'Amrithrad'. Now the Kashmirian tradition [34] is that Kashmir was originally a *lake* known as the 'Sati-Sar' or the lake of Sati. The above description of Kashmir as 'Amrithrad' clearly suggests that the poet held the Kashmirian tradition which is still held by Kashmirians even to this day that Kashmir was originally a lake. We also know that Kalidasa is noted for his suggestive style. Thus the comparison of Kashmir with Heaven or Svarga in the brief line given above will be sufficient to suggest to our minds the unique beauty of the land which the poet wishes to convey, even as the beauty of Sakuntala was conveyed to us by the suggestive remark—'*Aho Labdham Netra Nirvānam.* But the patriot [34] in Kalidasa still urges him, and not only does he *suggest* but further *dwells* on the sentiment in Sak VII., 12, which represents the highest praise that one can bestow upon one's country. It also sums up the chief characteristics of Kashmir for which it has been so noted in the past:—"Feeding on balmy air in

groves blooming with trees of life" suggests the refreshing air and the fruit-trees that grow wild in Kashmir; "bathing in water dyed with the pollen of golden lotuses" suggests the daily ablutions of the Kashmiri Brahmins in rills covered with pink lotuses that are so abundant in Kashmir; "meditation practised on jewel-slabs" points to the great wealth of Kashmir in ancient times; "ascetic exercises in the presence of heavenly damsels" not only refers with pride to the fair and handsome women of his country but also to the remarkable power of 'Tapa' for which ancient Kashmir has always been noted, and the last line that the "sages here perform religious austerities in the midst of objects which other sages desire to obtain by practising penances," at once singles out the country in the estimation of our poet and marks it above all other countries known to him. The Kanva, the Vasishtha the Vālmika Asrama and all other places described by Kalidasa pale before the splendour of the Kashyapa Asrama which is Kashmir itself. Again, Kashyapa known to the Kashmirian tradition as the founder of Kashmir is remembered with the highest terms of admiration and reverence as 'Surāsuraguru', [35] or the parent of gods and the demons. The people of Kashmir are described with special pride as having lofty ambitions in life—उत्सर्पिणी खलु महतां प्रार्थना : all pointing to a unique love which the poet had for his native-place!

There is another reason why Kashmir is brought before the scene. This also proves our poet's chief affection for Kashmir. The reason is that Sakuntala after the desertion of her husband stayed in Kashmir where the last scene of union was going to take place. Kalidasa bestows his fatherly love and care on Sakuntala and gives her shelter in *his* home when she is deserted by her husband. Kalidasa seems to be so proud and jealous of a woman's dignity that he would not allow Sakuntala to stay—as it was proposed, in the house of the priest of the one who has already rejected her; but he was so moved by his fatherly instincts, that he would not be satisfied with anything less than taking Sakuntala to *his own* home in Kashmir—as his Vālmiki did in the case of Sita in the Raghuvansa; [36] and put her there under the fostering care of the mother Dākshāyani, [37] wife of Kashyapa who was the founder of Kashmir. Having satisfied himself with these arrangements, Kalidasa proceeds further to get Dushyanta to Kashmir, our poet's home, for "married daughters cannot stay long under their father's roof" [38]. Having once rejected his wife, Dushyanta must go to her residence in Kashmir, bow down at her feet, and bring her back with honour. Indeed Kalidasa seems to take a personal interest in the whole affair and Kashmir plays an important part in the concluding scene of union. The last and the most important reason why Kashmir was introduced at all in the Drama will be discussed later at full length. It will be shown that the scene of Kashmir is introduced to point out that it is the home of the Pratyabhijna Philosophy which is illustrated in the form of allegory in the drama of Sakuntala. Kalidasa manages to bring Dushyanta to Kashmir to enable him to learn the secret of the Pratyabhijna, at its home, from Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir, and thus attain the ***summum bonum*** of life, which the poet himself had achieved in his

country. Thus Kalidasa believed Kashmir to be the most spiritual country on earth. All this shows how Kashmir was cherished by Kalidasa. His devotion to Kashmir can best be accounted for by assuming it to be his native-place.

II. Unconscious and spontaneous reference to scenes, sites, and legends of Kashmir.

Such allusions to Kashmir as present themselves to the poet's mind in his 'unconscious' moments go to prove his special attachment and kinship with that country. Ties of affection and bonds of associations, fastened round him during the most impressionable period of his life, ever cling to his memory—like '*Samskārāh Prāk Tanā Iva*'; and present themselves later in life—when Kalidasa is presumably travelling outside Kashmir—whenever they find a suitable opportunity for their expression. See how frequently the poet retreats to sights and objects at home in the Himalayas for his happy similes;[39] how in the Raghuvansa, Kalidasa takes the king Dilipa from Ayodhya to Kashmir where the hamlet of Vasishtha—of local fame only, is situated; and how round about Kashmir, to the Gandhamādanparvat the pleasure-resort of the Kashmirian tradition,[39a] where Siva also takes his consort Parvati in the Kumara-Sambhava, he takes Vikrama and Urvasi for a happy holiday; how again in drawing the back-ground of the picture of Sakuntala at the hermitage of Kanva, he paints the river Málini, along with the setting of the scenery of the Himalayas[40]. The excessive heat of the Kanva Asrama on the banks of the Málini and of the surrounding area, described in Sakuntala II and III, does not correspond with the climatic conditions on the Himalayas to which the poet has made an unconscious retreat under the spell of the name of the river Málini. The river Málini[41] may thus be identified with the river of the same name in Kashmir. In the Sakuntala, the Málini, is not an *appellative* name of the Gangă but appears to be used as a *proper* name in Act I, on whose banks, it is said, that the Kanva Asrama is situated. The frequent use of the *same* name for the river in the drama, also brings us to the same conclusion[41a]. The Málini of the Himalayas *or the Kashmirian Mālini*, with the adjoining Asrama of Kanva who belongs to the family of Kashyapa—*the founder of Kashmir*, is for dramatic purposes, located by Kalidasa on the tropical plains below within the range of Dushyanta's hunting-ground. For his Sachi Tirtha, noted for the memorable incident of fishery, as well as the Sakrāvatāra, located for dramatic purposes on the plains, Kalidasa again draws on the Kashmirian Sakra and the Sachi Tirtha.[42] Note again how unconsciously the poet retreats to Kashmir with its Yaksha and Yakshis, its *pink* lotuses and the Brahmasar, in his description of the Sarayu at Ayodhya.[43] Again, the Kashmirian 'Kumuda Nāga' with his lake association appears in the lake of Sarayu where Kusha takes his bath in the river.[41] By the supreme force of the association of ideas, Kalidasa, when he is describing the water-sports, is automatically led to think of the Kashmirian "Nágás" that are associated with almost every lake or water-place in Kashmir, and are known as serpents and capable of acquiring human shape, and also known to the legends of Kashmir, as marrying their daughters to human beings.[44]

Kalidasa must have been brought up in a country where those traditions about Nágás were so popular as they *are* even to this day in Kashmir. The concluding-sloka of the 16th canto of the Raghuvansa, [45] alludes to an alliance by marriage, between the Nàgàs and the King Kusa. Whether this allusion is based on some historical legend connected with Kusa the King of Kashmir, and the Nágá inhabitants of Kashmir, or on some other ancient legend, we have not yet been able to discover. We hope some one more familiar with the legendary history of Kashmir will be able to throw light on the subject. As soon as the legend is discovered, it will light up the whole passage as the Nikumbha legend has done, which we have discovered in connection with the Nikumbha of the Raghuvansa :—*vide* Raghuvaṇsa II 35.

कैलासगौरं वृषमारुरुक्षोः । पादार्पणानुग्रह पूतपृष्ठम् ।
अवेहि मां किङ्करमष्टमूर्तेः । कुम्भोदरंनामनिकुम्भमित्रम् ॥

In the above passage, the allusion in the fourth line is quite obscure. No commentator of Kalidasa could explain the point of reference who that Nikumbha was, how he came in the context at all. Kumbha describes himself as the friend of Nikumbha, for he is obviously eager to derive his character from Nikumbha, but the question is who the Nikumbha is and what is his character? And it is little wonder if none of the commentators could throw any light upon it, for the legend was *local* to Kashmir only. We give below Dr. Buhler's summary [46] of the legend from the Nilmat with our own translation of it, as taken from the Nilmat.

"After Kashmir had been produced, Kashyapa settled it. The gods received their places as well as the 'Nágás'...But when the saint wished to introduce men, the Nágás objected to their company. Angrily Kashyapa cursed them and ordered them to dwell with the Pisáchas. Nila then interceded for his brothers and obtained a mitigation of the sentence. The country was not to be made over entirely to the Pisachas but for six months only in the year from Asauj to Chaitra and for the duration of four Kalpas only!" (Said Kashyapa, 'The righteous and powerful Nikumbha, the chief of the 'pious' Pisachas, appointed by Kuvera to capture and defeat the unholy Pisachas that live in the sandy ocean, shall with his large number of followers go out to fight the hostile Pisachas in the month of Chaitra and return back to the Himalayas in the month of Asauj'). "But when the four Yugas were completed there was an old Brahman, Chandra Deva by name, descended from Kashyapa, who neglected to leave the country with the other inhabitants. Him the Pisachas caught, and played with him as children play with birds *tied to a string*. He recovered his freedom—until at last he came to the Nágá Nil who in company with Nikumbha received him into his dwelling. There he remained for the six months of the winter season and learnt from his host a number of rites the observance of which was to deliver the country from the Pisachas and from excessive cold." The worship of Nikumbha is further enjoined in the Nilmat on the full moon day of Asauj. It is supposed that the ghosts of the followers of Nikumbha take *possession* of the bodies of men on

this day and leave the next day. It is also enjoined that among other objects, the cow 'Surabhi' should be worshipped on this day by those who possess cows, and it is also stated that Nikumbha is the worshipper of Siva.

Now let us draw a comparison between the Nikumbha of the Raghuvansa, and the Nikumbha of the Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat.

1. The Kashmirian Nikumbha is described both as a powerful and righteous 'Pisácha'—'*Bali*' and '*Dharmătmă*, (N.M.-278) so is the friend of Nikumbha in the Raghuvansa, both a powerful and righteous 'brute,' whose back is purified by Siva's foot and not even Dilipa could withstand his power. (R.V. II.-34-35.)

2. Both are attendants of Siva. *vide* N.M. 675-676, and R. V. II. 35, 46—भूतेश्वर पार्श्ववर्ती.

3. Both of them are appointed for a particular mission and are always victorious. The Kashmirian Nikumbha with his following-अनुयायिन: is appointed by Kuvera to capture and defeat the hostile Pisachas in the sandy ocean (N.M. 279, 282) while the friend of Nikumbha in the Raghuvansa is appointed by Siva,—who, according to Kalidasa, is the friend of Kuvera, 'Dhanapatisakhá' (M. D. uttar-10) to capture the elephants that scratch the Deva Dāru tree in that Jungle. (R.V. II. 36 -38.)

4 The Nilmat brings the Pisachas, the followers of Nikumbha to Kashmir by way of punishment to the *Nāga* inhabitants of Kashmir (N.M. 267) who disobeyed Kashyapa. The Raghuvansa II 38, brings on the scene, in the forest of the Vasishtha-Asrama of Kashmir, the brute Kumbha, who is the friend of Nikumbha, in order to punish the elephants, in other sense, the *Nagas* who had won the wrath of Siva by doing harm to the fictitious tree. In this connection the fiction of scratching the Deva-Daru trees that are so abundant in the forests of Kashmir might have been suggested to the mind of Kalidasa by the association of the term *Nágas* denoting the inhabitants of Kashmir, with the meaning : elephants or the *Dvipas*.

5. The followers of Nikumbha are allowed to stay and enjoy themselves in Kashmir during a fixed period only (N. M. 283), so is the friend of Nikumbha in the Raghuvansa allowed to enjoy his meal during a fixed period only.——प्रदिष्टकाला इति (R. V. II 39),

6. The followers of Nikumbha in the Nilmat were in the habit of *possessing* the bodies of others (N. M. 499, 500). They also captured the Brahmin Chandra who happened to fall in their way about the *time* of their residence in Kashmir (N. M, 426, 427). So in the Raghuvansa, the friend of Nikumbha takes *possession* of the body of the cow,—if not of the Brahmin, who falls in his way and justifies his claim over her. (R. V. II, 27, 28, 29, निगृहीतधेनु: 33, 39).

7. Worship of Nikumbha is enjoined in the Nilmat (484,489,676) so is Kumbha the friend of Nikumbha ' glorified ' in the Raghuvansa II 43.

8. Worship of the ' Surabhi " cow forms a part of the Nikumbha—worship in the Nilmat 490, possibly to get rid of the *possession* of the bodies by his followers (N. M. 500). In the Raghuvansa devotion to Nandini, the daughter of Surabhi, who is as good as ' Surabhi " (Raghuvansa 1.81) is made a test to secure freedom of the cow's body from the *possession* of the friend of Nikumbha.

Thus the identification of the Nikumbha of the Raghvanasa with the legendary Nikumbha of Kashmir is complete. And as the legend is peculiar to the history of Kashmir only and is not known outside Kashmir, allusion to it in such a natural way can be made by a Kashmirian writer only. With these associations of Nikumbha in our mind, if we study the incident in the Raghuvansa, we shall find that the allusion becomes clear and full of suggestion and we are able to appreciate the points of argument in the Lion's speech. Without these associations of Nikumbha in our mind, the line, 'कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रम् is a dead line, with them it is powerful, pouring life on all sides and is full of suggestion. Without these associations again, the arguments of the Lion regarding his appointment by Siva to scare away the elephants —*Nagas*, the fixity of time regarding his meals and his consequent claim on the cow appear to be a mere pretext and do not carry conviction. But with the associations of Nikumbha and his followers that we have discovered, the whole picture receives a background without which it is difficult to appreciate it. Now if our identification of Nikumbha is correct, and we believe it is, then this one instance alone should be sufficient to carry conviction to our mind that Kalidasa was a native of Kashmir.

III (a) Direct allusions to local sites and usages in Kashmir.

In the Kumara-Sambhava I. i. the Himalayas are described as plunged into the eastern and western ocean; the same description is given of the mountain called 'Hemakuta' (Sakuntala Act VII) on which the sage Kashyapa in company with his wife is said to perform his penances. The fact that Dushyanta's chariot descending from the sky stops at the Hemakuta, and that the Hemakuta includes the Kashyapa's Asrama which we have already identified with Kashmir, points out that the Hemakuta denotes the higher altitudes of mountains in Kashmir. It is already pointed out in our note 34, that the epithet 'कनकरसनिस्यन्दी सान्ध्यमेघपरिघइवसानुमान्' (Sakuntala VII) as applied to Hema-Kuta suggests the Haramukuta mountain with its dark-blue stone, which is known to us as a source of the golden Kanaka Vàhini river in Kashmir. Thus the Hemakuta in the Vikrma Urvasi I, may denote the northern mountains of Kashmir where Vikrama meets the companions of Urvasi, as he was returning from his visit to the 'Suryopsthăna' or sun-temple. The site of the worship of the sun in both the works also leads to the same conclusion. In the Vikrma-Urvasi the worship of the sun is

indicated round about the Hemakuta, so is it in the Sakuntala, the worship of the sun being described round the Hemakuta close upon the *Kashyapa Asrama*. Thus the 'Suryopasthána' may be identified with an ancient temple of Mártand [47] described as the *Kashyapa-Swami-Mãrtand*—or the one established by Kashyapa himself, in the Nilmat history of Kashmir. At the Hemakuta it is said that Vikrama meets the Apsaras who relate the incident of the abduction of Urvasi by a demon named Keshi, resident of Hiranyapura, while she was on her way back from the temple of Kuvera. The term *Kuvera-Bhavan* seems to suggest a temple of Kuvera rather than the city of Kuvera or the fabulous Alaka, and this Kuvera Bhawan may be one of the many sacred sites of Kuvera [48] situated in Kashmir. The 'mythological' Hiranyapura may suggest the historical Hiranyapura, modern *Ranyl*, [49] situated in the Sindh Valley in northern Kashmir, known to the Kashmirian legends as the ancient Capital of Kashmir. The association of historical Hiranyapura as the abode of persons who take away wives of others may also refer to some historical allusion unknown to us. [50] It is pointed out that the demon took away Urvasi towards the *north-east*, which direction, representing the wild and inhospitable country of the Daradas,[50b] was believed to be the abode of demons, or *Pisãchas*, [50c] in Kashmir.

As we go on identifying in Kashmir almost all the sites that appear *imaginary* in the works of Kalidasa, it would be futile to suppose that these sites were not real. And if they are proved to be real, it would be difficult to understand why Kalidasa should have drawn from Kashmir *only* the whole lot of the sites and from no other part of the country unless he himself was in some special way connected with Kashmir. That these sites represent their original Kashmirian characteristics establishes their claim to reality. They are mere replicas of the original sites in Kashmir. The site of *Bhutapati* or 'Bhûtapaterás-padam of the Kumara-Sambhava with the Ganas and Nandi around it is already identified with the site of Bhûtesh or the modern "Butes" in Kashmir with the adjoining Tirthas of Nandikshetra around it. The Vasistha Asrama in the Raghuvansa, as already pointed out, can be no other than the Vasistha Asrama of Kashmir—modern Vángath, with its Deva Daru trees, caves, forest and the Gangă as it descends from the Haramukh peaks.

The Sachi Tirtha, [51] situated alongside the Sakaravatara, is also a site in Kashmir according to the Nilmat, but the necessity of the development of the plot of Sakuntala required that it should be located on the plains. The important observation regarding the occupation of the fisherman of the Sakràvatàra alongside the Sachi Tirtha, which we shall discuss in the body of this paper, may have been suggested to the poet's mind by the Sachi Tirtha in Kâshmir or its Kashmirian fisherman.

The Soma Tirtha [52] in the Sakuntala is the same as the Kashmirian Soma Tirtha. A pilgrimage to it is considered of great religious merit by the Kashmirian writers. Thus Kalidasa departs from the original story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata and sends Kanva to the

Soma Tirtha to avert a calamity that might befall Sakuntala. The Soma Tirtha may thus be identified with the one in Kashmir, shewn on the bank of the Vitastá in the ground-map of ancient Kashmir by Sir Aurel Stein.

The Apsarasa Tirtha [53] in the Sakuntala Act V as well as the Vikrama Urvasi (Act IV) is the Kashmirian Tirtha of the same name and character as in the Nilmat.

The Sapta Rsi Tirtha [54] on the higher altitudes of the Kashmirian mountains may be denoted by the Kumara-Sambhava I. 16.

The Brahma Sar [55] in the Raghuvansa XIII.60 is known to the Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat, as the source of a river named 'Ramahrad' and is associated with Rama of Axe.

The Kumuda Nāga [56] that appears in the Raghuvansa XVI 76 is mentioned in the list of the Nāgas in the Nilmat.

The Gauri Sikhara [57] with its lakes, where Parvati performs her penances in the Kumara-Sambhava, may be identified with the Gauri Sikhara in the Nilmat. The sun-worship, associated by Kalidasa with the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir in the Sakuntala, is also noticeable at the Gauri Sikhara (K. S. V. 20, 21), which may thus be identified with the site of that name in Kashmir as noted by the Nilmat.

The river Mālini [58] in the Sakuntala suggests the river of that name in Kashmir.

The Sindhu in the Raghuvansa IV. 67, does not mean the Indus, but it means the Kashmirian Sindhu as Mallinath has rightly pointed out :—

सिन्धुर्नाम कश्मीरदेशेषु कश्चिन्नद विशेष:

Here the Sindhu denotes the Krishna-Ganga river which is popularly known in Kashmir as the Sindhu [59]. The term Sindhu here cannot apply to the Indus for the Indus was never known to be a habitat of saffron. Saffron [60] appears to have been cultivated in ancient Kashmir, not only in the Vitastā Valley but also in the lower valley of the Krishna Ganga, just above its confluence with the Vitasta where Raghu's army appears to have halted[61]. Even if saffron did not grow in that particular part of the valley where Raghu had halted, it did not matter much, for it did grow in some part or parts of Kashmir. The point of reference in the context (Raghuvansa IV.67) was meant only to indicate that Raghu's army had reached the land of saffron namely Kashmir (after whose name saffron is generally known as 'Kàsmirah' or Kashmira-Janmà or Kàshmiràngaràgàh) and that his army had reached there at a time when saffron was in full bloom and refreshing people with its vigorous scent. Thus saffron was the index of the country which Raghu had reached. The Sindhu with the saffron around it, therefore, cannot but denote the Kashmirian Sindhu. Thus the armies of Raghu coming from the west, (across the Hazara district) crossed the Sindhu or the

Krishna-Ganga river in Kashmir above its junction with the Vitasta at Muzaffarabad—the usual route from the west to enter Kashmir in ancient times, where they halted and formed a base for further manoeuvers against the *Huns* in Kashmir on the one hand, and the northern Kambojas on the other (Raghuvansa IV.68, 69).

Thus the Sindhu in the context can be no other Sindhu than the Krishna Ganga river or the Sindhu in the Kashmir Valley which is noted for its plantation of saffron. The term Sindhu used by Kalidasa in its Kashmirian sense according to its *local usage*, raises a strong presumption in favour of the view that Kalidasa belonged to Kashmir.

The Mandākini (Meghaduta U. 4), on the banks of which the girls used to sport by hiding gems in the gold-sand of the river *suggests* the use of the *term* Mandakini for the Krishna Ganga river in Kashmir, which is noted for its gold-sand[61a]. The Krishna Ganga is also known to Kashmirian tradition as the Mandakini in its upper course in the extremely northern part of Kashmir, but owing to the confusion in the use of the term Mandakini for every Ganga, Kalidasa brings the gold of the Mandakini or the Krishna Gangā on the banks of the Mandakini or the *popular* Kashmir-Gangá (Sindh) with its 'traditional' sources on the heights of the Haramukuta mountain, which flows past the *home*[62] of Kalidasa in Kashmir; and which is also noted as the Mandakini by the Kashmirian Bilhăna[61a].

The *Gangā*[63] in the Raghuvansa IV.73 cannot possibly be the Bhāgirathi Ganga. It must denote the Krishna-Ganga on the higher altitudes of the Kashmirian mountains where the birch trees grow and the musk-deer roam and where Raghu, after his conquest on the lower Valley of the Sindh or Krishna-Ganga, is climbing up in order to defeat the mountain-tribes. Thus we note that the Kashmirian river Krishna-Ganga is known to Kalidasa under three different names as the Sindhu (Raghuvansa IV. 67) the Mandàkini, (M. D. U. 4) and the Gangà (Raghuvansa IV.73) : all the three titles used for the same river after the manner of the Kashmiris; for the Kashmiris alone call the Krishna-Ganga under three different names.

But the *Gangā*[64] of the Vasistha Asrama in the Raghuvansa II.26 cannot denote the Krishna-Gangá or the Bhágirathi-Ganga either. It must be the Gangá round which the Vasistha Asrama is situated. Now we know that the Vasistha Asrama is situated in the valley of the Kanaka Vàhini which flows past the 'Bhutesh' and carries down the waters of the Haramukuta Gangá into the Sindh river of Kashmir which is popularly known as the Kashmir-Gangà. Thus the *Gangā prapāta* in the forest of the Vasistha Asrama may denote the actually falling waters of the Uttara Gangá as brought by the Kanaka-Vàhini round Bhutesh—below which the Vasistha Asrama is situated; to meet the Sindhu which is also an appellation of the *popular* Gangà of Kashmir. This *Sindhu* is the popular Gangá of Kashmir and it must not be confounded with the Sindh river which we have already identified with the Krishna-Gangá. Moreover the famous Gangá

of Kashmir, namely the Sindh, is supposed by Kashmirian *tradition* to have its sources in the Haramukut Gangá lake—the Uttara Gangá or Gangabal known as the Gangodbhava. Every year in the month of Bhadon the Kashmiris go out to lay the bones of the dead in the sacred source of the Ganga on the Haramukuta mountain and on their way to it, they halt for a night at *Vāngath*, the ancient Asrama of Vasistha, so well described in the Raghuvansa Canto II.

Now, if in describing the abode of Bhûtapati in the Kumara-Sambhava, Kalidasa has the site of Bhūtesh in his mind, which we have no doubt he has, then the *Ganga*[65] in the K.S. I. 54 should as well denote the Kashmirian Gangā of the Haramukuta mountain—where the site of Bhûtesh two miles above the Vasistha Asrama is situated, and not the Bhāgirathi Gangā.

The *Gangā*[66] of the Meghaduta (63), which is described as spread like a piece of cloth round the loins of the mountain, is clearly the popular Kashmir-Ganga (Sindhu) on the spurs of the Haramukuta mountain; and the Mănasa lake [67], described immediately before the Gangā, (M. D. 62) is the Uttarmanas identified with the Uttara Gangă or the 'traditional' source of the Gangā on the Haramukuta mountain. This point will further be made clear in our discussion on the Meghaduta when we give our reasons for identification of the Kailasa with the Haramukuta mountain in Kashmir.

Thus the use of the word Gangā and the Sindhu, in their *Kashmirian sense*, in those particular contexts relating to the country of Kashmir, clearly shows—apart from all other proofs, that Kalidasa was brought up under the Kashmirian tradition and was thus presumably born in Kashmir.

The Kashmirian title of Mandãkini for the Krisna-Gangã noted for its gold, is already mentioned as a proof in the same direction. Certainly Mandàkini in the Meghaduta cannot denote the Bhāgirathi as it is not noted for its gold.

Thus the frequent and characteristic mention of the minor local Tirthas of Kashmir along with such local usages of names of rivers as described above, fully supports the theory that Kalidasa was a native of Kashmir.

III (b) Allusions to social customs and conventions.

The marriage-ceremonies among the Hindus are more or less of a uniform character throughout the country, but apart from common observances that are sanctioned by the Shastras, there are certain local customs that differ in each province. Some of the allusions noted by Kalidasa, as given below, seem to bear relation to practices in Kashmir.

1. Reference to the breathing in of smoke [68] on the part of the bride, after the 'Lãjã homa' at the nuptial ceremony, denotes the custom that is prevalent to this day in Kashmir. अश्मविनावधूर्धूमानि जिघ्रतीति लोकाचारः—writes Vallabha, the Kashmirian commentator.

2. It is rather curious that Indumati in the Raghuvansa VI. 83 does not offer the wedding-garland described as the Mangala Pushpa Màlà[69] to Aja with her own hands as she ought to have done according to the Swayamvara practice; but she asks her attendant nurse to do so. Mallinath's explanation of it is this: उपमातु:कराभ्यांकंठेयथा-स्थानं आसक्तंकारयामास, नतुस्वयमाससज्ज अनौचित्यात् ॥ Surely, this is not satisfactory. There is no impropriety on the part of the bride in offering the garland with her own hands at the Swayamvara when she has selected her husband of her free choice. Indeed, impropriety consists in the violation of the essential Swamyamvara practice of the offer of the garland with the bride's own hands as the mark of her free choice of her husband at the Swayamvara. The offer of the garland by the bride herself would certainly be a more graceful ceremony than its offer by her nurse. We believe that Kalidasa's judgment in the present instance was vitiated by an ancient marriage-custom in Kashmir, known as the 'Mangala Màlá Vidhi', according to which the *mother-in-law* of the bridegroom or any lady whose husband is alive fastens the wedding-garland round the neck of the bridegroom. The direction regarding this local ceremony in Kashmir is noted as below in the marriage 'Paddhatis' of the Kashmiris:—अस्मिन्नवसरे देशजातिकुलोचिता नामाचारिकाणां मङ्गलयानां कर्मणां काल: यथाकश्मीरेषु श्वश्रू: अन्यावा. अविधवा वधूवरयो: शिरसिमङ्गल्यमालां बध्नाति ॥ In the present instance *Dhãtri* or the *Upã Mãtã* performs the function of Indumàti's mother *i.e.*, Aja's *mother-in-law*. The whole ceremony appears to take its colour from the local custom in Kashmir as described above.

3. Kalidasa refers to a local custom according to which the bride and the bridegroom after the marriage 'Yajna' is over are taken to a *vedi* that is previously designed and set apart for purposes [70] of offerings of *wet*-rice. Now the custom among the Kashmiris, though not identical, is somewhat of similar character. The bride and the bridegroom are taken to what is known in the Kashmirian language as '*Vegu*'—derived from the Sanskrit *Vedika* which is previously designed and set apart for a similar purpose.

4. Kalidasa makes a special reference to the dramatic performances [71] by women, their musical accomplishments and bilingual recitations[72] in Sanskrit and Prakrit, as well as the use of wine[73]—distilled from flowers, by men at festive occasions. These conditions fit in very well with ancient Kashmir which is noted for its dramatic

performances, where in ancient times it is said that women could understand Sanskrit and Prakrit both, as late as the 10th century A. D., and where wine was formerly permitted on festive occasions.

5. 'Dasàh' [71] in the Raghuvaṃsa (VIII 73) refers to the obsequious ceremony on the *tenth* day, still prevalent in Kashmir, and which is practised in a still more complicated form among the 'Saivites' of Kashmir. Mallinath takes pains to explain it as the 'ten days of impurity', but Vallabha, the Kashmiri, has rightly pointed out that "the Dasàh here denotes a particular ceremony and not the ten days of impurity"—दशाहो ऽत्र विधिविशेषो नतुदश दिनानीति

6. In the prelude to the 6th Act of Sakuntala, we notice that the fisherman is very severely handled; a thief, a cutpurse, an eater of lizards are the appellations used for him. This may be explained by the fact that the fisherman was in the hands of the police and that he could not expect better treatment from the police in those days than might be expected from the modern police in India. But beyond this, there are certain derogatory remarks passed about the occupation [75] of the fisherman which even in the eyes of the police, is something abominable. The fisherman seeks to defend his profession by pointing out that it is always honourable for him to follow the family profession, whatever it may be, for even the most benevolent Brahmin makes no scruple in killing an animal for sacrificial purposes—that is his family profession. From the above remark it appears that the fisherman was already *hated* on account of his special profession. Let us see if there is anything in the history of Kashmir that throws light on the above episode. We observe that the Iswara Pratyabhijna Vimarshini, a treatise on the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, discusses the supremacy of CUSTOM [76] and its authority for a particular time and for a particular part of the country. The Vimarshini further illustrates the remark by pointing out that a custom [77] may be based on the Shastras or on oral tradition only. It is urged that custom based on *oral* tradition may be quite reasonable like the custom in Kashmir whereby fishermen as a class are excommunicated on account of their evil profession that takes away the lives of the fishes. Similarly the custom of marrying a daughter of a maternal uncle, however unsupportable, is cited as an authority for the south or the Dakhshinàpath. Thus excommunication of the fishermen must be an ancient custom in Kashmir as it is believed to have been *handed down* as early as the date of the

Vimarshini, namely the 11th Century A. D., as an *ancient* 'oral tradition' in Kashmir and is put on the *same* level with another well-known *ancient* custom of the Dakhshinàpath. Thus the particular allusion to the occupation of the fisherman in the Sakuntala becomes intelligible when it is given a historical background such as this. Kalidasa in the Sakuntala appears to defend the fisherman against the persecution to which he was subjected and expresses himself through the fisherman that it was not fair on the part of his counrymen to find fault with others for something that they themselves did with impunity and as a matter of customary right. The argument of the authority of custom, in the Pratyabhijna, may cut both ways—it may be used in *favour* of the *customary* occupation of the fisherman as in the case of the Brahmin, or his customary excommunication. Kalidasa therefore seems finally to appeal to equity rather than to custom.

Outside Kashmir we have no such tradition, that the fisherman of all other bird-catchers and butchers was the most hated tribe of men. It appears that in reproducing the scene Kalidasa is reminded of the Kashmirian fisherman [78], not on account of his sad occupation only, but because of his associations with the sites in Kashmir namely the Sachi Tirtha as well as the Sakràvatàra round whose suburbs the fisherman is said to live. The whole scene is the poet's own invention and is not found in the original story of the Mahabharata. The Vikrama Urvasi [79] also alludes to fishing with a special reference to the *saving* of the life of the fish as an act of piety. These ideas must have been in the air in the country where the poet was born and brought up—we know of such a country: Kashmir.[80] The home of our poet therefore must be in Kashmir.

III (c) Further allusions to matters relating to Kashmir.

Thus assuming Kashmir to be the home of Kalidasa, we shall find that numerous allusions, such as those of the silk and the wool and the पत्रोर्ण or the 'shawl', as also the emblem of the marriage-garment[81], the prohibition of killing an eagle in the air, [81a] the mention of the delightful icy-waters, [82] the closing of the windows [83] in the months of winter, heavy clothing of women and their wearing of the garment dyed in the red Kusumbha [84] *in particular*, characteristic mention of the red and well-developed lips like the bimba fruit[85], the saffron plant and paint, rice crops and the songs in the rice fields and the frequent mention of the worship of the sun: all acquire a new significance, as they, taken together, most fittingly apply to conditions in Kashmir. We shall pass over these allusions and only refer the reader to our notes, and for the present take up the last three only for our consideration, namely, allusions to saffron, to rice, and to Sun-worship before we proceed to an important discussion regarding the religion of Kalidasa that also determines his home in Kashmir.

1. Argument from Saffron.

Kalidasa in the Ritu Samhara describes how ladies besmear their breasts with the saffron paint [86] in the months of Hemanta, Sisira and Vasanta. That this practice was a *real* and *popular* one even in the days of Bilhana, a Kashmirian poet, may be gathered from his description of Kashmir in the last chapter of the Vikramanka Charit. [87] Kalhana, the author of the Rajatrangini, refers to the use of saffron ointment as a prerogative, [88] and in an interesting passage refers to the use of the saffron pomade to colour the white flowing beards of the councillors of the kings in Kashmir. [89] It is little wonder that these Kashmirian writers make so frequent use of saffron in their writings for there is abundant growth of saffron in Kashmir which is known as the home of saffron or the '*Kunkuma Desha*'! Kalhana writes, [90] 'Learning, lofty houses, *saffron*, icy-waters and grapes: things that even in heaven are difficult to obtain are common in Kashmir.' Kalidasa in the Raghuvansa (IV. 67) considers it enough to name saffron in order to suggest its home, namely Kashmir. Now our point is that as saffron comes from Kashmir [91] so presumably does its conventional use as pomade—*Kashmirángarāgah*, [92] which conventional use has gained popularity with the non-Kashmirian writers too. But may not Kalidasa, an outsider to Kashmir, have *borrowed* this convention like other non-Kashmirian writers? No, it does not appear so from his style. For he paints the breasts of his ladies with saffron not after the conventional manner of other Indian writers in every season, but only in the right season for it, namely in the months of winter and spring only—during the summer Kalidasa makes use of sandal paste:—पयोधराः चन्दनपङ्कचर्चिताः (R.S. 1.6.) Of course, it would be absurd to suggest that every Sanskrit writer who referred to the use of saffron-paint was a native of Kashmir! What we want to emphasize here is the distinction between a poetic *convention* and a *real* and *popular* practice. It appears to us that while describing the distinct pleasures of various seasons, Kalidasa alludes to the *real* practice of the saffron-paint in a particular season, which on the authority of Bilhana is known to us as a *real* and *popular* practice in Kashmir. It further appears to us that the allusions to saffron by Kalidasa are based upon personal observation, not only of the popular and romantic uses of saffron in Kashmir, but also of its cultivation. Indeed, Kalidasa possesses full knowledge of the fact when the saffron crop is ripe or saffron is made. We are told by the authorities on Kashmir [93] that the time for planting out the saffron bulbs in Kashmir is in July and August and that the flowers appear about the middle of October and that when the flowers are collected, the real work of extracting saffron commences. The flowers are dried in the sun, the filaments are picked out by the hand and the saffron is made. Now, the line *Lagna—Kunkuma—Kesarân* in the Raghuvansa (IV. 67) may either mean 'bodies to the manes of which the Kunkuma or the saffron flowers got stuck' or it may mean better still 'bodies to which *filaments* of the *Kunkuma* or the saffron flowers got stuck.' We shall see that the latter meaning fits more closely with the time of Raghu's arrival in Kashmir. We know that Raghu started

his expedition in the beginning of the autumn or 'Sarad', that is about the 15th of September, and when he, having finished his conquest in the West, takes his start for the North, it is suggested in the Raghuvansa (IV. 66) that the sun is about to take its northern course. Thus, roughly speaking, Raghu reaches Kashmir early in Hemanta, that is about the 15th of November. This is just after the time when the crop of saffron is fully ripe (for the saffron flowers appear about the middle of October) and when the flowers with their stigmata from which the saffron is being made, are being dried in the sun in the open fields; which stigmata—*Kunkuma Kesarāh* got stuck to the back of the horses as they rolled on the banks of the Sind river in Kashmir[94]. It is obvious from the above description that Kalidasa knew the *exact* time when the saffron fields were blooming in Kashmir and the saffron was *being made.* No Sanskrit writer, outside Kashmir, is known to have given a description of a living saffron-plant or the saffron filaments as they are being dried in the sun in the open fields. Kalidasa must have watched the saffron-fields and the process of extracting the saffron filaments—*Kesarah* from the flowers, on the bank of a river, at his home in Kashmir.

2. Argument from Rice.

The one and only cereal crop that Kaildasa mentions with frequency and fondness is that of rice[95]. As Kalidasa travelled in every part of the country so is he familiar with the different seasons of harvesting rice throughout the country. The winter crop[96] of rice reaped from November to January in Bengal and British Burma and elsewhere finds its mention in the Ritusamhar though it appears that the early crop[97] of rice in Bengal, reaped between July and September is not known to Kalidasa,—for there are two crops of rice in Bengal—as he makes no mention of it. The Kalama[98] variety of rice and the plantation of sugar-cane[99] with rice-fields are also known to Kalidasa. The autumn crop[100] reaped in Kashmir and other parts of the country finds frequent mention in his works. Impressions gathered from rice-fields in their various stages of growth, are so strong in his mind, that they come out in his writings, not only in direct descriptions but in his similes and metaphors too[101]. He must have watched the rice-fields from his infancy onwards. Indeed, we cannot think of the home of Kalidasa in which rice crops were not prominent. His home must have been a rice-growing country and his staple food[102] must have been rice. But it is difficult to assign a home to Kalidasa on grounds of rice only. Kalidasa may belong to any part of the country noted for its cultivation of rice, such as the province of Orissa, the deltas of the Godawari, Krishna and Kaveri, and the lowlands of Travancore, Malabar, Kanara, Konkon, British Burma, Bengal and Kashmir[103]. But he cannot belong to all these places; he must have been born in one of these places in India. We must therefore try to possess some other instance of agreement with rice that will help us in determining the home of Kalidasa. Now we know that just as Kalidasa is familiar with the living rice-plant so is he familiar with the living saffron-plant[104] too. Rice and saffron have got to be

taken together in settling the home of Kalidasa. The presumption is that Kalidasa witnessed in his home not only the rice-fields but also the saffron-fields, both of which are described by him, but neither are the two together nor are the saffron-fields alone known to have been described by any non-Kashmirian writer. Thus the home of Kalidasa should not be a rice-producing country only, but should also be noted for saffron. This eliminates all other countries except Kashmir. Kashmir [105] is noted from ancient times for its only important crop of rice or '*shāli*' and is also described as the home of saffron, the *Kunkuma Desha.* With Kalidasa *shāli* is a pet name for rice: shāli is also the popular name for paddy in Kashmir even to this day. Songs associated with the rice-fields of autumn appear in the Raghuvansa (IV. 20)—शालिगोप्योजगुर्यशः and will be recognised as having a special interest for Kalidasa if we bear in mind that rice is an autumn crop in Kashmir and that some of the best national songs sung in Kashmir are sung in its rice-fields. The setting of the rice-fields with blooming lotuses around them, lakes and swans and flowering trees, all remind us of the scenes of rice-fields in Kashmir. [106] A Kashmiri is always anxious about his shāli [107] so shāli is always uppermost in the mind of Kalidasa. In every way the most important staple [108] in Kashmir is rice. Of all the rice-producing countries therefore, Kashmir—the one country that grows rice as well as suffron with both of which our poet is so familiar—appears certainly to be the home of Kalidasa. This will account for our poet's partiality for rice.

3. Argument from Sun-worship.

Sun-worship in India has existed from the Vedic times, but the Sun-cult is decidedly of a later growth. Dr. Bhandarkar divided the Sun-cult in India into two classes—indigenous and foreign [109]. The indigenous cult worships the orb of the sun and the foreign cult, popular in *northern* India, raises temples for the Sun. Dr. Bhandarkar concludes that there is 'evidence to show that the Sun-cult, probably made up of a mixture of the indigenous and foreign forms, prevailed in the beginning of the 6th century and was professed by great princes.' From the writings of Kalidasa it appears that the mixed form of the Sun-worship was prevalent in his days. The worship of the Sun [110] is indicated by Raghuvansa (XIV. 66) and Kumara Sambhava (V. 20); the indigenous form denoted by Sakuntala (VII. 11); and the foreign form by Vikrama Urvasi (I. IV) which denotes the Sun-temples as well as the image of the Sun—**सूर्योपस्थानात्**प्रतिनिवृत्तंमाम् the ablative form of 'Suryopasthan' denoting the Sun-temple whence Pururavasa had returned, and इहभगवतः सूर्यस्यपादमूलोपस्थानं denoting the Sun located at a *particular* place—**इह** भगवतः सूर्यस्य; at whose feet, obviously the feet of the image—**पादमूलं** attendance was required. In the Sakuntala (VII. 11) Kalidasa locates Sun-worship round the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir. In the Kumara Sambhava (V. 20.) Parvati in order to obtain the desired husband just as Sita contemplates in the Raghuvansa (XIV 66), worships the Sun on the Gauri Sikhara[111] in the Himalayas, which according to the Nilmat is

situated in Kashmir. In the Vikrama Urvasi it is interesting to note that Kalidasa takes Vikrama all the way from Allahabad—*Gangā Yamunayoh Sangame* (V. V. act 5) to the Himalayas where the abode of Kasyapa is, for adoration of the Sun at a Sun-temple or the Suryopsthan, which may be indentified with the temple of Mārtand[112] in Kashmir described by the Nilmat as काश्यपस्वामिमार्तण्ड or the Sun-temple established by Kasyapa with whose place of residence Sun-worship is associated in the Sakuntala. Now the question is why of all the places noted for Sun-worship in India should Kalidasa lead us to Kashmir alone and why of all other famous temples of the Sun[113], such as the one at Multan in the Panjab, and the other at Mandsaur in Malawa, should he lead us to the Sun-temple in Kashmir? Obviously because he is so familiar with it. We have already pointed out that the site of the Sun-worship as associated with the Kasyapa Asrama in the Sakuntala is known to the Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat as the Kasyapa Swami Mārtanda. Thus a close familiarity on the part of our poet with such *unimportant* sites, known only to the Kashmirian tradition, and allusions to them in a significant manner can best be accounted for by assuming that Kalidasa was brought up under the Kashmirian tradition and that he was a native of Kashmir.

IV. Religion of Kalidasa

Every student of Kalidasa knows that Kalidasa was a worshipper of Siva [114]. All his dramas open with a prayer to Siva[115]. But in his works we also find that prayers are offered to Brahmā and to Visnu[116] too—the prayer to Brahmā in the Kumara Sambhava being entirely based on the traditional prayer to the same deity in the Nilmat. [117] Thus the Saivism of Kalidasa was of a non-sectarian type which, though it regarded Siva as the highest deity, yet had room for the worship of other gods and goddesses like the Saivism in Kashmir. [118] We also know that the Saivism of Kalidasa was essentially monistic in its character [119]. It was also free from wild and fantastic ideas that are generally associated with Saivism outside Kashmir [120]. Now if we turn to the Sarva-darshan Sangrah of Madhavacharya and read his description of various schools of Saivism, we shall find that the type of Saivism represented by Kalidasa is the same that Madhavacharya describes as the 'Pratyabhijnâ Darsana' or recognitive system, which is the Kashmirian Saivism [121]. All other schools of Saivism prevalent outside Kashmir are described as dualistic and even pluralistic in their philosophy as against the monistic philosophy of Kashmirian Saivism, and are ghastly in their form as against the sober practices of Saivism in Kashmir. But it has been challenged whether Kashmirian Saivism has been monistic from its most ancient days [122]. It is pointed out by Sir Richard Temple that the ancient Agama Shastras of Saivism in Kashmir are dualistic in their philosophy and that it is the later Agamas, the Spanda and the Pratyabhijnâ shastras of Saivism that are noted for that idealistic monism.

But this view is not correct; even Mr. Chatterjee, whom Sir Richard Temple closely follows, does not admit the possibility of total

dearth of ancient monistic Agamas in Kashmir. Mr. Chatterjee only says that *some* of the Agamas *at least* were dualistic in their teaching, or at any rate were open to dualistic interpretation [122a]. That makes the position altogether different, for these dualistic āgamas may have existed side by side with the *monistic* āgamas that existed from the most ancient times in Kashmir as is also borne out by the Kashmir tradition in the Nilmat as we shall presently see. Now whatever may be the original form of Saivism in Kashmir, it cannot be denied that in very early centuries Monistic Saivism had found its home in Kashmir, for the tradition—*āgama*, of Monistic Saivism representing the Pratyabhijna doctrine is already existent in the Nilmat[123] which in its present form is assigned the date sixth or seventh centuries A.D., at any rate earlier than the revival of Vedantism by the great Sankara [124]. Thus it would be wrong to suppose with Sir Richard Temple that Saivism in Kashmir took a monistic turn under the influence of the great Sankara Acharya who belonged to the eighth Century A.D. Now Monistic Saivism is not known to exist outside Kashmir in those early centuries before Sankara Acharya, but in Kashmir it must have existed in the fifth century A. D. at the latest to have found expression as a traditional form of religion in the present edition of the Nilmat in the sixth Century A.D. Kalidasa, therefore, in those early centuries, before Sankara Acharya, must have *learnt* his form of Saivism in Kashmir.

The Kashmir Saivism [125] we know is divided into three forms of literature, namely, the Agama Shastra, the Spanda Shastra and the Pratyabhijna Shastra. The first lays down the doctrine and prescribes action, the second furnishes the details of the doctrine and the third the philosophy of it. The Agamas are believed to have come down (Ā-*gama*) as revelations from Siva through distant ages. But it may be argued that the definite type of Saivism known as the Pratyabhijna philosophy was promulgated in Kashmir about 800-850 A. D., much later than the possible date of Kalidasa—how could Kalidasa have drawn upon the system which did not exist in his time? Our answer is, that according to its own traditions the Pratyabhijna philosophy has its roots in the early monistic system of the Trika philosophy of Saivism, known after the name of Tryambaka, who is said to have lived several generations before Somananda who systematized in the ninth century A. D. the Pratyabhijna doctrine that already existed in Kashmir. Vasugupta, who claims fresh inspiration of the philosophy in the latter half of the eighth century A. D., is also believed to have come across, by Siva's favour, some ancient records of the philosophy already existing in the country. Tradition believes that the philosophy existed in Kashmir from the earliest times. It was lost for sometime (probably under the influence of Buddhism) and was *revived* again, according to the modern scholars, in the eighth century A. D. We must note that the Agamas that are believed to have been delivered as revelation by Siva himself must originally belong to a very remote past as their human authorship was no longer remembered by the writers of the Pratyabhijna philosophy in the eighth century A.D. Most of these Agamas, as Mr. Chatterjee holds, cer

tainly existed long before "the appearance" or reappearance" of the Trikā or the Pratyabhijna philosophy during the eighth century A. D. and at least *some* of them certainly taught the monistic doctrine of the Pratyabhijna, which, as we have already observed, is noticeable in the Nilmat long before the eighth century A. D. The sources [126] of the Pratyabhijna philosophy may thus be traced back to the ancient monistic Agamas. Inasmuchas Kalidasa represents the Pratyabhijna philosophy in his works, he must have drawn his inspiration from these ancient sources of the Pratyabhijna school, namely the Agamas. Kalidasa was certainly most proficient in his study of the Agamas—आगमवृद्ध:. and he appears to have been much revered for his knowlege of the Agamas, as in the Raghuvansa (VI. 41) he praises the king of Anupas as *āgamavriddha—sevi*—आगमवृद्धसेवी.

Kalidasa himself believed that the extent of the knowledge of the Agamas—the revealed treatises as mentioned above, depended upon the capacity of our intellects—प्रज्ञया सदृशागम: (Raghuvansa I. 15) and also believed in consonance with the Pratyabhijna philosophy that the Agamas lay down for us the course of good actions—आगमै:सदृशारम्भ: Thus the description of the Agamas in Kalidasa is just like the Saiva ágamas which lay down both the doctrines (ज्ञान) and the practices (क्रिया) of the system and are treated *as revelations*—as *above Prajnā*, coming down from remote times. Thus Kalidasa, who in his writings teaches the Pratyabhijna doctrine—not known outside Kashmir during those days, yet definitely known to the Kashmir tradition in the Nilmat—must have learnt it in Kashmir which may be his home.

Let us now give a very brief summary of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, that will enable us to relate it more fully to the Pratyabhijna doctrine preached by Kalidasa in his writings.[127]

According to the Pratyabhijna philosophy, there is only one existence,[a] self or 'Sadā Siva', which may be described as having two aspects, transcendent and immanent, or Siva and Sakti, which are one in their essence, and are but two aspects of the same reality. [b] They are eternally related together like word and its meaning. [c] Sakti works in a variety of modes and has every hold on Siva. Indeed Sakti is Siva himself.[d] With his Sakti thus Siva manifests himself as the universe and he does this out of his free-will, without use of any other material: Universe is expansion out of the perfect freedom of God.[e] The process of manifestation is technically known as the Ābhās or reflection of Sakti[f] on Siva as distinguished from the 'Vivarta' doctrine of the vedantins.[g] According to the Vivarta doctrine, the appearances are not real as they are non-existent in the supreme reality; while according to the 'Ābhās' doctrine, the appearances are real in the sense that they are aspects of ultimate reality or परमशिव in whom they exist in the highly synthesized form as the experienced. The Ābhās and the Vivarta doctrines both try to explain the phenomenon of diversity in unity but to the 'Vivarta' this apparent division is of no consequence while to the 'Ābhās' it is apparently a source of strengthening to the whole.

Thus Siva who in his supreme freedom and joy wills to create this universe brings into operation his Sakti, which acts as the principle of Negation of the subjective idea, and brings out the objective reality, the 'Srishti'.[h] By the necessity of his own creative power, Siva who is all along perfect freedom and light also limits himself as the individual soul or 'Jiva'—Siva *forgets* his own Sakti in the Jiva-State which is the result of his own free-will to create.[i] The creative Sakti acts as force of obscuration in order to create many out of the one. This aspect of the Sakti is technically known as तिरोधान or पिधान or Maya not in its vedantic sense as mere illusion but the *activity* which produces forgetfulness of the real nature of self.[j] In other words विस्मृति takes place on the part of Siva, of his own Sakti: or the reflection of Sakti on Siva is bedimmed. But the force of obscuration cannot be of a permanent character, it is only a temporary phase, though a necessary one, in the course of evolution. It vanishes when the course of involution begins, or technically speaking when the अनुग्रह aspect of Sakti reacts upon it.[k] Realization of Sakti as belonging to self takes place through the method of recognition, or in other words, realization of the identity of self with God takes place through *recognition* of the Divine nature of self. *Recognition* is the only way to self-realization.[l] Recognition or प्रत्यभिज्ञान takes place by some potent means, such as that of the instruction of the Guroo or the study of the अध्यात्मदर्शन—the power of contemplation on self or ones own *Pratyaya*: thus recognition ends in self-realization.[m] Sakti is reflected in the pure light of Siva, or in other words, Siva regains his Sakti. Self-realization takes place or union by recognition is attained. The experience thus gained is not lost but is "synthetically" related to the divine experiencer. *Union* by *recognition* or the प्रत्यभिज्ञान is thus the chief essence of this system of philosophy.[n]

After gaining recognition what is left for one is to do good to others for "there is no divine curse on man that he should only be actuated by personal motives." The Pratyabhijna doctrine is preached for the good of mankind irrespective of caste, colour, creed or sex. The student should approach this philosophy as 'Dāsa' to whom it will be given free out of its abundance.[o]

This is but a brief summary of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir. Now it may be interesting to learn that our researches in Kalidasa have led us to the definite conclusion that Kalidasa was a follower of the ancient Pratyabhijna philsophy of Kashmir and that the beautiful drama of love between Dushyanta and Sakuntala is also a beautiful allegory of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna Philosophy of Kashmir. There is nothing strange in the drama having an allegorical character for Sanskrit poets are quite familiar with the device of allegorical representation of abstract thoughts. Siva is already known to Kalidasa as Nata Rāja, (Megha Duta 36) acting the drama of this world with the aid of Parvati his own Sakti (M. M. I. 4). The comparison of this world with an act of drama on the part of Siva, the chief dramatist, is also known to the Kashmir tradition

of the Saiva philosophy.[128] In order to popularize this Pratyabhijna philosophy in its very early days of promulgation, Kalidasa hits at the happy device of writing an allegory on the basis of the love-story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata. He thus introduces the vital incident of Durvāsa's *curse* followed by loss of the ring, its recovery, *recognition* of Sakuntala and subsequent union with her in Kashmir and similar other changes in the original story of the Mahabharata and gives a dramatic and an allegorical shape to that historical episode in a manner that suits his purpose best. We know that suggesstion is the soul of poetry and this is specially true of the style of Kalidasa. Indeed it speaks very high for his genius that he has succeeded in maintaining the romantic as well as the philosophic character of that unique drama in the world. It is highly probable that the idea of allegorical representation of the Pratyabhijna tenet on the basis of a *love-story*, was suggested to the mind of Kalidasa by a *love-metaphor* of a similar character that might be current among the teachers of the Pratyabhijna philosophy in his day and employed to illustrate the novel point of the Pratyabhijna, as we note that the *metaphor* of *love*, was employed by Utpala who re-affirmed the Pratayabhijna doctrine and who might have borrowed that *love-metaphor* from the ancient sources and traditions[129] of that philosophy in Kashmir, as previously known to Kalidasa.

Let us now follow the Sakuntala and briefly illustrate the Pratyabhijna tenets from its various incidents. In the drama, King Dushyanta stands for Lord Siva, Sakuntala for his Sakti. The word Abhijnana or Pratyabhijnana, which occurs so frequently in the drama, should be taken in its philosophic sense [130]. The poet has given us an important suggestion in using the word, *Abhijnana*, in such a prominent place as the title of the book itself—अभिज्ञान शाकुन्तलम् which should signify in its philosophical sense the drama dealing with the 'recognition of Divine Sakti' or in other words realization of God. The dramatic 'Srishti' [131] of the Sakuntala begins with the marriage of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, which does not require any permission from the parents, for Dushyanta and Sakuntala are eternally married as Siva and Sakti : Sakti is described as the heart of Siva,— हृदयंपरमेशितु:[132] So is Sakuntala the sweet-heart of Dushyanta.

Siva in his supreme joy and freedom wills his Sakti to create the universe [133]. Thus Sakuntala appears *big with child*, that is, Sakti carries and develops the seed of Siva's '*Icchā*' to create the universe which is of the nature of *sport* on the part of Siva.[134] Thus the creative energy is occupied in creating the new world. Now Dushyanta retires to his capital. Sakuntala is pining in her love for her husband and is waiting to be called by him. She is constantly brooding over her love for Dushyanta. But according to the Pratyabhijna philosophy, the act of creation is the work of *negation* of the 'Ideal Universe'— निषेधव्यापाररूपशक्तिः—an apparent division in the unity of love; Siva therefore can no longer retain his Sakti in the 'ideal' state, for she is already occupied in the work of creation or of objective reality which is the negation of the subjective state of union [135]. Siva is

thus under the spell of his own creative energy which he himself has put to work and thus the 'Ideal Universe' of his unity with Sakti vanishes from his sight. A demonstration to that effect has got to be made; thus appears Durvasa with his curse. Durvasa with his curse does not at all occur in the original story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata. The vital incident of Durvasa's curse is the poet's own creation, that gives a curious turn to the development of the whole drama. The curse is a deterrent force in the union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala. Indeed the *curse* stands in the Pratyabhijna philosophy for *necessity* (नियति:) that accrues from Shiva's will-to-create: —the *pidhăn* that follows the *Srishti*; the *Māyă Sakti* of Siva that creates '*moha*' or delusion in order to create many out of the one.[136] But the obscuring influence of the *curse* over soul—the technical '*Tirodhan*', is of a temporary character only; it soon disappears and gives room for the play of the Anugraha Sakti of Siva when recognition or 'Pratyabhijna' has taken place by some potent means [137] such as ones own *Pratyaya*. Thus the Durvasa's curse is modified and the obscuring influence of the curse is dispelled by the sight of the King's own finger-ring—his Souvenir, *his own Pratyaya,—as in the Pratyabhijna philosophy*, marked by the letter's of his own name. (Note the significant phrase आत्मनामधेयाङ्कितां.) Like a flash of lightning Sakuntala dawns upon Dushyanta and *recognition* takes place. It may appear curious indeed as it already appeared to the Apsarā-Indumati[138] in the drama that no recognition could take place without the sight of the finger-ring, inspite of the fact that Sakuntala was there with her open face before the very eyes of Dushyanta. However curious this incident may appear to us, nevertheless it is a real fact according to the 'ĀbhāsVāda' of the Pratyabhijna philosophy that Sakti could not reflect herself in the pure light of Siva as long as the cloud of *Pidhāna* was there, that is, no recognition of identity of self with God could take place unless the force of obscuration was exhausted, unless the creative energy had delivered herself of the charge of creation or manifoldness, and betook herself to the path of involution or '*Anugraha* [139]. But Sakuntala as she appears before the king has not yet delivered herself of the child,—namely, Sakti has not yet finished the task of creation. This is again a significant invention of the poet, for in the Mahabharata Sakuntala appears before the king *with* her son; Now, as the creative energy has not yet performed the function for which she was designed, so she could not retreat to Siva at this stage. But as soon as the work of creation is over, that is, the *will* of Siva is carried out, and Sakti has no more orders from Siva to carry, she withdraws her power of obscuration and shows her beneficent aspect or अनुग्रह Her activities of obscuration that limited Siva into Jiva and that made creation possible are now over and thus there is no more bar to recognition of Sakti by Siva. Thus Dushyanta gains recognition of Sakuntala and receives her back after she is delivered of a child. But this time it is Dushyanta who goes out to receive his wife back to his home. For according to the Pratyabhijna doctrine, unlike the Vedanta School of philosophy

Siva is an active agent [140] and not a mere passive witness; as Sakti is but another name of his own power. He appears to be passive under the influence of his own creative power. Siva in his majesty is said to maintain both the states of reality, subjective and objective, active and passive[140a]. Thus Dushyanta retires under the influence of the curse but when recognition has taken place, he gets active and goes out to bring Sakuntala back to his home. Siva may thus be said to be united with Sakti.

We have noted above that without the sight of the finger-ring recognition of Sakuntala, inspite of her presence before the eyes of Dushyanta, could not be effected; similarly we are told by the Prataybhijna philosophy that without the aid of some *potent* means, the individual soul does not recognize his divine 'Sakti' though the Divine Sakti is all along with him: unless one is led to believe by the authority of the 'Adhyatma Darsana' or the instruction of the guroo or ones own *pratyaya* [141] one is not able to recognize God in oneself. And it is said that without *recognition* there can be no realization, as in the case of a maiden who though fallen in love with a youth by mere hearsay, is not moved by the sight of the youth unless she is told by her *friend* that this is the same person whose excellences had so fascinated her. As soon as she is able to *recognise* him as her beloved she goes into raptures over him [142].

But we must not forget that the finger-ring or the Shastra is at best a Souvenir, a mere aid to recognition, though a very potent one indeed in as much as it restores memory. Certainly recognition would not be possible had there been no cognition of the subject thus recognized [142a]. Recognition of God as our self therefore, presupposes identity of our self with God, without which no recognition could take place. After the recognition has taken place, the finger-ring or the Shastra is futile for the individual, thus Sakuntala refuses to wear the finger-ring after her recognition by Dushyanta. The fact that Dushyanta has gained recognition of Sakuntala by the sight of the finger-ring signifies that intellectual comprehension of the nature of self is secured. But Dushyanta also seeks the company of Sakuntala or in the language of the Pratyabhijna—'*upalabdhi*', that is, personal communion with God. For that he must wait till he makes another effort. Thus Kalidasa has to invent the whole of the seventh act in the Sakuntala. We find that Dushyanta goes out to fight with the enemies of Indra and is united with Sakuntala in Kashmir, the home of the Pratyabhijna philosophy. Indeed recognition leads to self-realization [143] when the sloth and impurities of our previous actions (कार्ममल), the enemies of our Self or Indra, are totally burnt in the sacred flame of Love or *recognition* of the *power* of God within [143].

Recognition thus is the *crux* of the philosophy for it is said to be the only way to the realization of God's power or Sakti. Thus Dushyanta must *recognize* Sakuntala before he can be united with her. We further note in the drama that Dushyanta attributes his union with

Sakuntala to the 'Anugraha' or the *grace* of Kashyapa. We must remember that Anugraha [141] is also the technical name in the Pratyabhijna philosophy for that beneficent aspect of God's power, which reveals itself when all impurities are cleansed away. Thus in terms of the Pratyabhijnā philosophy Kashyapa accounts for the whole phenomenon of appearance and expounds the Pratyabhijna doctrine of Abhas [145]. Again, Kashyapa asks Dushyanta to greet his son born of Sakuntala. Dushyanta accepts him as the mainstay of his family—thus philosophically speaking, the experience gained is related to the experiencer. It is implied that the process of creation was not futile; it was, *as it were*, a source of strengthening to the absolute [146]. This valuable truth in the Pratyabhijnà is illustrated in a poetic way by Kalidasa in his other works too [146]. Thus Kalidasa believed this world to be not a dream-land but a field of action.

Accordingly, Kashyapa asks Dushyanta and Sakuntala with their son to devote themselves to works for the good of mankind. This is the moral lesson of the Pratyabhijna doctrine[147], for it is laid down that there is no divine curse upon man that he should only be actuated by personal motives. Indeed, curse may fall upon him who neglects his duties to others. On ethical grounds too, Sakuntala deserved the curse for she neglected her duty towards the sage. Indeed the moral lesson of the Pratyabhijna philosophy is—*service* to mankind. Kalidasa was himself thoroughly imbued with that spirit—we have already noted how cleverly he defended the position of the fisherman against the social persecution which he was put to! The drama of Sakuntala is indeed a protest against the Buddhistic idea that the world is a mere illusion and that it must be renounced [148]. In accordance with the spirit of the Pratyabhijna doctrine, Kalidasa maintains that the responsibility for service is greater with those who are enlightened—thus Sakuntala and Dushyanta are finally advised to live in this world and to do works for the good of mankind.

We have noted thus that the plot of Sakuntala is modelled on the lines of the Pratyabhijna philosophy; we may go into greater detail and reproduce some of the actual passages in the drama that are related to the Pràtyabhijna philosophy. We have already marked the suggestive use of the word अभिज्ञान in a prominent place as the title of the drama अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्. The prayer to Siva in the form of Astamurti[149] in the Nāndi is again significant, as it points out that there is one reality only, namely Siva. Siva is married to his own Sakti who is out to *create* the world and thus she receives the inevitable *curse* [150] of separation, which is further modified by the significant *means* of *recognition*:—किन्तु अभिज्ञानाभरणदर्शनेन शापो निवर्तिष्यत इति। Thus Sakuntala is reminded: सखि, यदि नाम स राजा प्रत्यभिज्ञानमन्थरो भवेत् ततस्तस्मायिदम् आत्मनामधेयाङ्कितमङ्गुलीयकम् दर्शय। (Sakuntala IV.) Sakuntala as she is presented to Dushyanta is compared to – क्रिया, the abstract idea of Action, while Dushyanta is remembered as the Leader of the entire group of Arhatas - अर्हतांप्राग्रसरः—(Arhat is a title of highest wisdom in Buddhism) which Leader of the Arhatas according to Kalidasa can be no other than his own favourite deity or Siva the Lord of Wisdom—in fact, Kalidasa

has already compared Dushyanta with Siva in Sakuntala Act I. 6.—साक्षात् पश्यामीव पिनाकिनम्.[150a] Siva's supremacy over Buddha is hinted not only in the phrase—अर्हतांप्राग्रसरः but also in the incident of the meeting of the Rishis with Dushyanta in Sakuntala II. Kalidasa suggests that one can become a *siddhartha* only by waiting on Siva and not after the manner of Buddhism, even as the Rishis who had waited on Dushyanta had become *Siddhartha,* as they could speak of themselves - सिद्धार्थास्वः. Again, we know that Bliss according to the Pratyabhijna consists in union with the Divine Sakti. Thus Dushyanta at the sight of Sakuntala, with whom he is going to unite in wedlock, gives expression to his joy or Bliss as अद्योपलब्धमेव निर्वाणम् (Sakuntala III.) The Buddhistic *Nirvana or* Bliss is thus clothed with a Saivite meaning by Kalidasa. It appears that such gentle hits at Buddhism with improved interpretations of its philosophical terms were enjoyed and appreciated in the days of Kalidasa by his literary audience for whom he composed his drama. We note in the Pratyabhijna philosophy, light of knowledge or *Jnana,* and power of activity or क्रियाशक्ति [151] are given as epithets of Siva and Pravati, and joy or *bliss* is said to lie in their union. Thus, the following verse clearly suggests that in the estimation of Kanva, Dushyanta and Sakuntala stand for Siva and his consort Sakti, and that happiness lies in their union— त्वमर्हतांप्राग्रसरः स्मृतोऽसिनः शकुन्तला मूर्तिमती च सत्क्रिया, समानयंस्तुल्यगुणं वधूवरं, चिरस्यवाच्यंनगतः प्रजापति : (Sakuntala V 15).

Sakuntala is *big with child* when she is presented to the King—तदिदानीमापन्नसत्वेयं प्रतिगृह्यतां सहधर्मचरणायेति [151a] But the King is in the state of विस्मृति and seems to have a *faint* recollection of something which he cannot recognise—तच्चेतसास्मरति नूनमबोधपूर्वं भावस्थिराणि जननान्तरसौहृदानि (Sakuntala V. 2). Gautami compells Sakuntala to show her face—जाते मुहूर्तं मालज्जस्व अपनेष्यामि तावत् तेऽवगुण्ठनम्। ततस्त्वां भर्ताभिज्ञास्यति But under the spell of the curse the King remains in *suspense*—शापव्यवहितस्मृतिः। इदमुपनतमेवं रूपमक्लिष्टकान्ति। प्रथमपरिगृहीतं स्यान्नवेत्यव्यवस्यन्। भ्रमरइवविभाते कुन्दमन्तस्तुषारं न च खलु परिभोक्तुं नैवशक्नोमिहातुम (Sakt. V. 19 [152]) कामं प्रत्यादिष्टां स्मरामि न परिग्रहं मुनेस्तनयाम्। बलवत्तुदूयमानं प्रत्याययतीव मांहृदयम्॥ (Sakuntala V. 31) No recognition takes place at this stage and the king disowns Sakuntala *big with child.* Later on, the sight of the signet brings recognition. Now the King is full of longing for Sakuntala. He seeks her company—साक्षात्कार [152a] that is going to be *gradual* in his case, and feels uneasy without it. Thus remarks Sanumati सतिखलुदीपे व्यवधानदोषेण एषोऽन्धकार दोषमनुभवति. Now, recognition will lead to self-realisation when the enemies of Indra or Self—कामं मल [152b] are totally destroyed. Thus Sanumuti has it:—अहमिदानीमेव निर्वृतं करोमि, अथवा श्रुतंमया देवा एव तथानुष्ठास्यन्ति, यथाचिरेण भर्ता धर्मपत्नीम भिनन्दिष्यति। तद्युक्तमेतत् कालं प्रतिपालयितुम्। In the meantime Dushyanta spends his hours in drawing the picture of Sakuntala [152c] even as a pious man would spend his time in worshipping God till *at-one-ment* is reached. Thus finally the King sets out to defeat the enemies of Indra and meets his wife in Kashmir. He points out the value of the Pratyabhijna to his wife—प्रियेक्रौर्यमपि मे त्वयि प्रयुक्तमनुकूलपरिणामं संवृत्तम्। तदहमिदानीं त्वयाप्रत्यभिज्ञातमात्मानं पश्यामि॥ The work of creation was after all not futile [153], स्मृतिभिन्नमोहतमसोदिष्टया प्रमुखे स्थितासि मे सुमुखि, उपरागान्ते शशिनः समुद्गता रोहिणी योगम् ॥ (Sakuntala VII. 22.) 'Apparent division' as in

the Pratyabhijna seems to strengthen the unity.—एष विवाद एव प्रत्याययति[153] (Sakuntala VII). Thus the work of creation ended with the redoubled joy and bliss that came with recognition. Dushyanta got his son. We find that the son is fastened with the string of Aparājita, which is also a name of Siva in a treatise of the Pratybhijna[154]. The son stands for Siva's experience that results from the play of his energy. He is fastened with the Aparājita string or the string of Siva, *i.e.* the experience is not lost as it might be in the case of the Vivarta but synthetically related to its experiencer-Siva, the Aparajita. The King further remarks किमपि मनसः संमोहो मे[155] तदा बलवानभूत् (Sakuntala VII. 24) and अस्मादङ्गुलीयोपलम्भात् खलु स्मृतिरुपलब्धा and again offers the signet to Sakuntala who refuses to wear it with the remark—नास्य विश्वसिमि आर्यपुत्र एवैतद् धारयतु. Indeed, the signet of recognition, namely the 'Proof', is of no avail after self-realization has taken place, though recognition or the signet of recognition is certainly indispensible as a means to self-realization. Sānumuti had wondered that such a real love of Dushyanta for Sakuntala should depend upon a signet of recognition—अथवा ईदृशोऽनुरागोऽभिज्ञानमपेक्षते. However curious it may appear, the fact remains that according to the Pratyabhijna philosophy, self-realization cannot take place without *recognition*—recognition as already described is the crux of the Pratyabhijna philosophy. The individual soul does not feel the joy of its own divine nature, but as soon as its *recognition* takes place, it is filled with love and joy for it.[156]

Next, Dushyanta with his family waits upon Kashyapa. Kashyapa compares the unity of Dushyanta his wife and her son to the triad of Shraddhà, Vidhi, and the Vitta (Sakuntala VII. 29) which suggests the Trikä which is but another name for the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, or the *unity* of the *three*—नरशक्तिशिवात्मकं त्रिकम्—इच्छाज्ञानक्रिया combined in one. Dushyanta attributes recovery of his wife to the *anugraha* of Kashyapa—भगवन् प्रागभिप्रेतसिद्धिः, पश्चाद्दर्शनं अतः, अपूर्वः खलु वोऽनुग्रहः । उदेति पूर्वं कुसुमं ततः फलं, घनोदयः प्राक् तदनन्तरं पयः । निमित्तनैमित्तिकयोरयं क्रमः तव प्रसादस्य पुरस्तु संपदः ॥[157] (Sakuntala VII. 30) and puts the problem of *forgetfulness* and the *recognition* that had troubled him so much for solution before him.—भगवन्निमामाज्ञाकारीं...... उपयम्य...... स्मृतिशैथिल्यात् प्रत्यादिशन्नपराद्धोऽस्मि पश्चादङ्गुलीयकदर्शनादूढपूर्वामवगतोऽहं तच्चित्रमिव मे प्रतिभाति ॥ Indeed the whole world is the वैचित्र्य of Sakti, according to the Pratyabhijna philosophy[158]. The king is full of surprise at his strange forgetfulness and the strange way in which recognition took place. He cannot account for the phenomenon—यथा गजो नेति समक्षरूपे । तस्मिन्नपक्रामति संशयः स्यात् पदानि दृष्ट्वा तु भवेत् प्रतीतिः । तथाविधो मे मनसो विकारः । (Sakuntala VII. 31)-but Kashyapa replies अलमपराधशङ्कया संमोहोऽपि त्वय्यनुपपन्नः Indeed, according to the Pratyabhijna philosophy Siva by his nature is *freedom* and *light*—'स्वातन्त्र्यं' and 'ज्ञानप्रकाशः' his nature as such is not affected by creation in the least: all obscuration is due to the play of the Kriya-sakti, which cannot affect in reality the freedom of Siva [158]. Kashyapa points out—दुर्वाससः शापादियं सहधर्मचारिणी त्वया प्रत्यादिष्टा, नान्यथेति, स चायमङ्गुलीयकदर्शनावसानः

The curse is indeed a *necessity*; it signifies the obscuring activity of the Sakti which is set in motion in order to create manifold world out of the one reality. The curse or delusion is over at the sight of the signet of recognition which restores *memory* and signifies that *recognition* of identity of self with God is the only way to self-realization. Again Kashyapa addresses Sakuntala—वत्से चरितार्थासि, thus Sakti has come out successful in carrying out the orders of Siva to create this world, for which purpose she was " let out". It is a matter of supreme joy, that having been successful in her task, Sakti who under the necessity of creation was away from Siva for some time, has regained her hold upon him. Reflection of Sakti on Siva that was bedimmed temporarily is clear again in the pure light of Siva. Siva has recognised his Sakti, namely self-realization is secured. Thus Kashyapa expounds the 'Abhas' doctrine which may be compared with the Abhas—vàda of the Pratyabhijna philosophy [159]—

शापादसि प्रतिहता स्मृतिरोधरूक्षे भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव

छाया न मूर्च्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा-Sakuntala VII. 32

Again Kashyapa introduces Bharata to Dushyanta thus:-वत्स, कच्चिद् अभिनन्दितस्त्वया पुत्रएषशाकुन्तलेयः The King remarks—भगवन्, अत्र खलुमेवंशप्रतिष्ठा. According to the Ābhàs-vàda of the Pratybhijna philosophy experience does not vanish away as it does in the case of the 'vivarta vàda,' but it is synthetically related to the experience even as the son is related to the father, in a metaphorical sense [160]. Next, Kashyapa sums up the whole philosophy in a sentence and sends its happy message outside Kashmir—which Kalidasa himself is doing by writing the drama, in the following terms गालव, कण्वाय प्रियमावेदय, यथा पुत्रवती [a] शकुन्तला तत् शापनिवृत्तौ [b] स्मृतिमता [c] दुष्यन्तेन प्रतिगृहीते[d]ति— which philosophically speaking signifies that Sakti has performed her cycle of *creation*; [a] the *obscuring activity* necessary for creation has exhausted itself; [b] *Memory* is now restored; [c] and the individual soul by way of *recognition* has *realised* his divine Sakti and attained *supreme bliss—priyam.* [d] Next follows the advice of Kashyapa to Dushyanta, the enlightened soul, (शिवस्वरूप) which is in keeping with the ethical teaching of the Pratyabhijna philosophy [161]—युगशतपरिवर्तानेवमन्योन्यकृत्यैः, नयतमुभयलोकानुग्रहश्लाघनीयैः (Sakuntala VII. 34.) The King promises भगवन्, यथाशक्ति श्रेयसे यतिष्ये And finally, just as the title of the drama, अभिज्ञानशाकुन्तलम्, promises the *recognition* of Sakti in the course of the development of the plot, which marks various stages of obscuration and lighting up of '*Bodha*' and '*Smriti*', as in the Pratyabhijna, so the concluding line of the drama suggests that the promise has been fulfilled—ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः । The *Parigata Sāktir-ātmabhūh* is a significant phrase. It signifies that Siva has at last regained his Sakti--परिगताशक्ति पार्वती येन सः. Self-realization, or the *Summun Bonum* of life, is achieved. This puts an end to further cycles of birth and death as the poet has significantly prayed and the drama of life on earth comes to a close.

We have collected all these passages to bring home to the reader's mind that the connection between the Pratybhijna philosophy and the drama of Sakuntala is not based on a mere similitude but it is real

and deliberately worked out by the poet-philosopher in incidents and passages of the drama in a way that it does not in the least interfere with the free development of the plot. Indeed, the plot is moulded on the lines of the Pratyabhijna philosophy! The *curse* of Durvasa as already described is a *novel* incident in the drama of Sakuntala, with its subsequent results, namely, the non-recognition of Sakuntala when she is before the king and is big with child, as well as her recognition by the sight of the signet; so are the later incidents of Dushyanta's fight with the enemies of Indra and his attainment of Sakuntala with her son in the valley of Kashmir the poet's *own creation.* It is most significant that all the leading incidents that illustrate the tenets of the Pratyabhijna philosophy and point to Kashmir as its home where Dushyanta receives his training in the secrets of the Pratyabhijna and *Abhas* doctrine from Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir—are our poet's own creations in the drama. The Srishti, the Pidhāna and the Anugraha of the Pratyabhijna philosophy [162] are fully illustrated by the three important stages of the development of the drama. The curious and unique incident of the non-recognition of Sakuntala and her recognition consequent on the sight of the finger-ring, that has already excited the wonder of Sanumati and of the King himself, can best be understood in the light of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, according to which *recognition* is the only means of realizing God who is always with us. We have seen that truths derived from all those incidents and passages in the drama agree with the teaching of the Pratyabhijna philosophy as is borne out by comparison with the passages that we have collected from the Pratyabhijná Shastras in our notes.

In our study of the drama itself we cannot fail to notice the philosophical tendencies of our poet marked by the frequent and significant use of such terms as suggest the philosophical meaning under their particular contexts; and which terms form the chief topics of discussion in the Pratyabhijna philosophy and agree with it in their meaning such as स्मृति, बोध, अभिज्ञान, प्रत्यभिज्ञान, प्रत्यय, विस्मृति, संशय, अबोध असत्कल्पना, संमोह, शाप, सत्क्रिया, छाया, मल, शक्तिः, श्रद्धा, विधि, द्रव्य, सत्व, अनुग्रह, अनुशय प्रसाद व्यवधानदोष, अन्धकारदोष, माया मृगतृष्णिका नाममात्रप्रस्तावः, भ्रान्ति, मतिभ्रम, भाव, चेतः, मोक्षः, etc., etc. The epithet, क्रिया, applied to Sakuntala as suggestive of Sakti and the epithet, पिनाकिन्, applied to Dushyanta signifying Siva or the highest wisdom, and the significant epithet, **परिगतशक्तिः**, applied to Átma-Bhuh or *Siva-Parvati*, signifying the unity of *knowledge* and *action* in the concluding line of the drama, can best be understood in the light of the Pratyabhijna which lays so much stress on the *expansion* of knowledge and activity both [162a]. One cannot help feeling that the poet in using all these significant philosophical terms in their studied and well-arranged order, is working out some great philosophical problem at the back of the development of that *love-story.* That problem is the problem of the Pratyabhijna or *recognition*; that is the essence of the whole drama and is our poet's own creation in the drama. There is no such dramatic convention in the whole field of Indian

literature which could explain the curious incident of non-recognition of Sakuntala inspite of her real presence before the king. The *curse* of Durvasa itself emanates from the mind of *great* Kalidasa [162b] who cannot be supposed to conceive under it, even for purposes of development of plot or for improving the character of Dushyanta from the model supplied by the Mahabharata, such a silly device of *non-recognition*, if devoid of its suggestive philosophical meaning, on the part of a sensible and noble king about whom it is said; सतां हि सन्देहपदेषु वस्तुषु प्रमाणमन्तः करण प्रवृत्तयः (Sakuntala I. 19.) The philosophical meaning of non-recognition is supplied by the Pratyabhijna doctrine. Thus we conclude that the incident of Pratybhijna in the drama is based on the model of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, and that Kalidasa takes Dushyanta to Kashmir chiefly to indicate that it is the sacred home of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, where Kashyapa the founder of Kashmir, the home of the Pratyabhijna, is introduced as the Guroo [163] in order to instruct Dushyanta in the secrets of the Pratyabhijna that had so puzzled him. We thus feel safe in our conclusion that in writing that drama of love, namely Sakuntala, Kalidasa has drawn his inspiration from the ancient sources of the Pratyabhijna philosophy in Kashmir. The love-metaphor used as an illustration for recognition in the drama is certainly current among the traditions of the Pratyabhijna philosophy as we have already mentioned [164]. Thus we are pleased to note that the love-drama of the Sakuntala that is admired all over the world for its poetic charms has something still deeper and *real* to tell us, that the drama of Sakuntala is indeed an allegorical representation of the Pratyabhijna philosophy; though rolling down from generation to generation in its undetected meaning, yet it is indeed the first evangelic work of that drama of wonderful philosophy of Kashmir by its first 'unknown' *missionary* in the world. Indeed the Sakuntala is a dramatization of the Pratyabhijna. The philosophy was so dear to Kalidasa that he had to write a drama to illustrate its truth and to popularize it during its days of inception. Such a popular demonstration of the energetic philosophy of the Pratyabhijna was perhaps felt necessary by Kalidasa, in those days, as he wanted to save the country from the inroads of Buddhism, that had a weakening effect on the then Aryan society [164a]. Kalidasa could not be a non-Kashmirian and a convert to that philosophy, for the philosophy was never known outside Kashmir until its popularization in later centuries by Somananda and Abhinavagupta. Moreover, the truth of the Pratyabhijna was with the poet thoughout his life. It was in his blood, as it were, for his works written in different periods of life from the earliest to the latest are full of its references.

In the Malavikagni Mitra, Malavika is recognised as the princess of Vidarbha in the last act, and it is after this *recognition* only, which takes place after a *fixed* period of *suffering* (during the course of her *non-recognition as princess* by the King, though she is always before the King) that the marriage or her union with the king is made possible [165]. In the Meghaduta too the curse stands in the way of union of Yaksha and his Yakshi. The message of *recognition* sent through the Cloud

is a source of happiness, and union cannot take place unless the period of curse is over.[166] In the Vikrama-urvashi, the curse transforms Urvashi into a *creeper*—'Latā', *i.e.*, the '*Sakti* '*Latā*' and recognition takes place by the aid of the 'Sanga-maniya Mani' [167]. In the Kumara Sambhava it suits Kalidasa to describe how realization of Siva on the part of Parvati can take place through recognition. The joy of recognition is summed up in the line- शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ नतस्थौ, and *Suffering* or *Becoming* or the *experience* of creation, in keeping with the Pratyabhijna Philosophy, is not considered futile—क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते [168] Parvati has gained her hold on Siva- अद्य प्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः, even as Sakuntala has on Dushyanta भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव (Sakuntala VII. 32). This agrees very well with the tenet of the Pratyabhijna Philosophy [169]. These are all vivid references to 'the philosophical' curse, separation, recognition and realization, scattered throughout our poet's works—all these ideas constantly revolving in his mind as they appear and reappear in all his writings, and find their full and decisive expression in the Sakuntala. The thought of Pratyabhijna that seems to have occupied his attention from the early days of his life has at last been given out in such a neat and perfect form of allegory in the Sakuntala, that the poet at this stage seems to have felt that he has so completely given out the message of the Pratyabhijna that he need not touch it any more in the last work or the Raghuvansa. But it is still with him. The simile of वागर्थौ as applied to Siva and Parvati in the Raghuvansa I, corresponds to the Pratyabhijna doctrine of परावाक् or word and its meaning as identified with Siva and his Sakti [170].

The poet's own name—Kalidasa, may be a mere designation like the Vyasa Das of Kshemendra, a Kashmirian poet, only if it superseded his real name. If Kalidasa was a follower of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, and he had assumed that name as suggestive of his faith, we might easily account for the term 'Dāsa' in his name, in the Pratyabhijna sense of the word—for the Pratyabhijna philosophy calls upon its followers to approach it as Dāsa—namely one on whom knowledge or joy is bestowed from God's abundance—and Kāli is known to us as a famous name for Siva's Sakti who is worshipped to this day under the title of Mahā Kāli or Bhadra Kāli in Kashmir [171], over one of whose famous temples is raised the mosque of 'Hamadān' by the aggressive Mohammedans of Kashmir. Thus the name *Kalidasa* suggests—as is also borne out by the behaviour of his heroes towards their heroines [171a] that our poet was the follower of that form of Saivism which recognised worship of Sakti along with that of Siva that is singularly Kashmirian in character.

Thus Kalidasa who propounded the philosophy of Kashmir in all his works and followed that form of Saivism that was prevalent in that country, appears to be a student in Kashmir from the very early days of his life and in all probability a native of Kashmir.

V. Argument from the Meghaduta.

According to the established custom of Sanskrit writers every composition must have its 'hero'. Now the question is, who is the real hero of the Meghaduta? Vallabha, the commentator on Kalidasa, points out that the poet expresses his personal feelings of *vipralambha* in the Meghaduta, and that an imaginary hero, Yaksha, is conceived in order to heighten the effect of the poem. The study of the Meghaduta will show that the personal feelings of the poet are expressed with such warmth and intimacy that they cannot but be the result of an incident in his own life [172]. The *direction* of home in the Meghaduta is significant, and as the feelings and sentiments in the Meghaduta represent the poet's own state of mind at a particular time of his life, the home in the Himalayas represents the poet's own home. Thus Kalidasa, who is noted for his suggestive style of writing, gives expression when he is travelling abroad to his feelings regarding his home in the Himalayas, in the disguise of an imaginary Yakhsha. But why did Kalidasa adopt this device of an imaginary character in representing his personal state of mind? Obviously because without the imaginary character of the hero and his home, the poem would have been too realistic and prosaic in its effect. With the imaginary hero that suggests the reality, the poem combines the two elements of the real and the ideal and avoids the dangerous extreme of an ideal that has no life and the absence of the ideal. Kalidasa has with great ability made this delicate adjustment of the real and the ideal in his poem. This happy device has given full scope to the idealizing tendencies of our poet and has added to the poem especially the Uttaramegha, a new sentimen tof surprise which it would not have otherwise gained. Wilson's remark that the Uttaramegha is an 'unmixed fable' is wrong [173]. The uttaramegha, indeed, is a highly idealized description of the poet's own home that is as real as any other part of country on earth as we shall presently see. It is natural that Kalidasa should not treat his affectionate home on the same realistic lines as he treated other countries, and merely narrate it as the rest of the poem where his interest was not so keen and actual.

If it is pointed out that the imaginary Yaksha is sufficiently clothed with flesh and blood and fully answers our purpose of the ideal and the real combined in one person, and therefore the hero of the poem need not be a historical reality and the home a geographical one; still we have to account for the poet's '*home-sick*' condition of mind so fully revealed in the poem and also for the *direction* given to the Cloud, regarding the home in the Himalayas [174]. Indeed, it is difficult to account for the expression of warmth and feeling in the poem without relating to some actual incident in the poet's life—especially mark No. 44 (*supra et seq.*) of the Uttara-Meghaduta, in which the poet who is away from home, gets so eager and *mad* as to embrace the fragrant winds that chance to come from the Himalayas where his lady lives, hoping that they were touched by her at home and brought him the fragrant *touch*. Now, as regards the home in the Himalayas, it may be pointed out by our critics that it was

chosen because Yaksha was taken as an inhabitant of the north. But the question is, why was an inhabitant of the north chosen as a hero of the poem and not one of the south or the east or the west, unless the poet had some *interest* in the north? Again, how was Kalidasa able to hit on Yaksha as his chief and *human character*, for Yakshas do not figure so prominently and do not acquire a *human* figure in the hands of non-Kashmirian writers who know them only as demi-gods, and employ them only as minor characters —such as a messenger in the Kirata Arjuniya; and not as their chief character.

Now, any student familiar with the history of Kashmir can tell us that Kalidasa draws on Kashmir for his chief and human character of Yaksha [175]. Yakshas are known as the inhabitants of Kashmir from ancient times. Numerous sites of their residence, such as the Yakshadara, the Yachhgrāma, the abode of Yaksha at the site of the ancient Pravarapura and others, are scattered throughout Kashmir. Stories about the residence of Yakshas in rocks [175] and troubles due to them in the country, are equally well-known throughout the legendary lore of Kashmir. Yakshas are said to live with their Yakshis in Kashmir, like ordinary human beings. They also retain their mysterious character as demi-gods, for with their chief, Kuvera, they are worshipped to this day every year in Kashmir on the *Pūsh Badi Māvas*. Every child in Kashmir has his own tale of Yaksha or 'Yachha Bâbâ, to tell. Yaksha is also a *popular family-name* in Kashmir and if we had known on some authority that the use of Yaksha as a family-name could be extended back to the days of Kalidasa, we would have no hesitation in naming our poet Kalidasa Yaksha—modern *Yaccha*; as the Kashmirian Bilhana, resident of khonmush, could be described after that popular family-name: *Khonmushshu*. However, the character of Yaksha in the Meghaduta is distinctly Kashmirian—he created some trouble at home, he was therefore driven out and separated from his Yakshi and bound in a rock by way of punishment. The Yaksha does not represent here a divine character which as we have already pointed out he generally obtains at the hands of non-Kashmirian writers. Kalidasa could not pick up the *typical* Kashmirian Yaksha as his character unless he were a Kashmirian himself, and in picking up the Kashmirian character as the hero of his poem, Kalidasa suggests his own kinship with Kashmir and his home in the 'happy valley of the Yakshas' of Kashmir. Now the important question that deserves our attention is regarding the route adopted by the Cloud to reach its destination at the Kailasa mountain. We shall presently see that the Kailasa mountain in the Meghaduta does not denote the fabulous Kailasa but the Kashmirian Kailasa or the Haramukuta mountain [176], the famous residence of Siva in Kashmir. But if the destination of the Cloud is in Kashmir the question may be raised, why is not the Cloud sent up through the usual route for people to reach Kashmir, namely, through the Punjab ? The answer to it is this, that Kalidasa was familiar with the geographical conditions of Kashmir. He knew that it was physically impossible for clouds to reach Kashmir that way on

account of the mountain-barriers of Kashmir [177]; thus the Cloud was sent up via Kanakhal, a possible route and a quicker route too for the Cloud to reach the Kashmirian Kailasa, whence it could, as usual, penetrate into the valley of Kashmir. There is another reason for adoption of the *route* by Kalidasa. The route that Kalidasa marks for the Cloud is, for half the distance, the same route as that adopted by Siva, according to the Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat, as he starts from Benares on his way to the Kashmirian Kailasa or the Haramukuta mountain [178]. Thus Siva on his way to the Kashmirian Kailasa or the Haramukuta mountain has to go across the Naimish forest, the Gangàdvàra, the Kurukshetra, the Visnupada, the Hansadvàra, and the Uttara Manasa lake. Similarly we find that the Cloud, starting from Rama Giri in Central India on its way to the Kailasa has to pass through the Brahmàvarta, the Kurukshetra, the Gangadvàra, the Visnupàda, the Hansadvâra and the Mânasa lake. Siva in the Nilmat before he finally settles on the Haramukuta mountain visits the Uttara manasa lake and recommends a bath in its waters to Nandi, similarly the Cloud in the Meghaduta is recommended a bath in the Manasa lake before it finally reaches Alaka, the home of *the Yaksha*. Siva with his attendants and their chief Nandi takes his residence on the Haramukuta, under the designation of Bhutesvara,' (which residence is described by Kalidasa as भूतपतेरास्पदम् in the Kumara Sambhava, see pp. 8); in the valley of the Kanaka Vahini (referred to by Kalidasa as कनकरसनिस्यन्दी सानुमान् Sak VII, see note 34) round the vicinity of the Vasistha Asıama (described by Kalidasa in the Raghuvansa,-- vicinity of the Vasistha Asrama to the site of Bhuteshvara being denoted by the appearance of the Lion—an attendant of Siva as भूतेश्वरपार्श्ववर्ती) below which lies Alaka of the Meghaduta, which we shall presently identify [178a]. Further similarity in the *incidents* of the two routes strengthens our belief that Kalidasa had the Kashmirian tradition of Siva's journey to the Haramukuta in mind, when he laid down the way and incidents for the Cloud from Kurukshetra to the Kailasa which is another name for the Haramukuta the residence of Siva in Kashmir. The Cloud is advised to punish the Sarabhas if they get furious on its upward rise and transgress its way, *before* it reaches the Hansadvāra, as in the Nilmat the Mundaprastha mountain was punished over its head by Siva, since it transgressed his way and grew in size every time Siva climbed up to reach the Hansadvâra [179]. Again, the Cloud is asked to transform itself into steps to help Parvati to climb up the hill with Siva. The Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat is that Siva had to leave Parvati at the Pathishwara tirtha on the Bharata Giri, as she could not climb up further with Siva, on the precipitate rocks of the Haramukuta mountain [180]. The Cloud thus finally reaches the Kailasa. The Kailasa is identified with the Haramukuta mountain, the residence of Siva in Kashmir, where according to the Kashmirian belief no human feet can tread.[181] The Mànasa lake situated on the Kailasa is identified with the Manasa lake in Kashmir, on the Haramukuta or the Kailasa mountain.[182] Alakà is the ideal town of beauty with Kalidasa as it is his home in disguise[183]. Alakà of the Meghaduta cannot be the fabulous Alakà; it has

all the characteristics of an ancient Kashmirian town[184]—lofty houses, gardens, springs bound with steps, and ridges where one could mount to have a glimpse of the town below. The description of the Kailasa is the description of the Haramukuta mountain with its summit parcelled, as it were, into various snowy peaks and its fabulous mines of *Indra-nilaka* according to the popular Kashmirian tradition [185]. The Mānasa lake where the Cloud is asked to take limpid water fragrant with golden lotuses, is already identified with the Haramukuta Manasa lake —also known as the Uttara Ganga: which is noted for its clear water and pink lotuses like the other 'Mânas Bal' in Kashmir. Now the Meghaduta tells us that in the interior of the mountain-mass, known as the Kailasa, is situated Alakā, the town of ideal beauty with its lofty houses, on the banks of the Ganga. The Ganga here does not denote the Bhāgirthi but the popular Kashmirian Ganga Sindhu, which is believed by Kashmirian tradition to have its sources on the Haramukuta mountain, and which does actually flow, as is pointed out in the Meghaduta, past the lower ridge - उत्सङ्गे, of the Haramukuta mountain or the Kashmirian Kailasa [185]'. Alaka, the town of ideal beauty is the home of Kalidasa himself or the Yaksha in disguise. In this town Yakshas are said to live with their wives whose sporting glances have a potency to attract men even *without the aid of Kāma.* This is how the poet gives expression to his *conjugal love* at home as against the love based on mere familiarity—परिचय out at Dasapura. This will rebut the argument of M. M. Harprasad Shastri who cites the *familiar* glances of the women of Dasapura as a proof in support of his theory that Kalidasa was a native of Dasapura.[186] It is further pointed out in the Meghaduta that the home of Yaksha situated at some distance from the home of Kuvera—which might denote a *temple* of Kuvera in Kashmir, as Kuvera Bhawan does in the Vikrama urvasi; can be spotted by its lofty arches bearing the shape of Indra's rainbow [186a]. Lofty *Toranas* bearing the shape of the rainbow may be described as the *lofty* trefoiled archways (with the prominent upper-arch closely resembling the rainbow) so characteristic of the style of ancient buildings in Kashmir.[187] Kalidasa could not have mentioned that characteristic style of Kashmir and applied it to the town of his ideal beauty without having a liking for it either on grounds of architecture itself or on some *personal* grounds. Thus Kalidasa must either be a visitor or a native of Kashmir. But as Alaká the town of *ideal* beauty is described by Kalidasa as the *home* of Yaksha his own character in disguise, and as the town is placed in the country in the Himalayas where the style of architecture is actually in vogue, the presumption is that *exact* reference to that particular style of architecture comes from our poet because he himself belongs to that part of the country and is so familiar with it at his *home* in Kashmir.

In the Meghaduta uttara 10, special reference is made to a '*vāpi*' or spring in the town, bound with steps, which *vāpī* is said to be situated at the foot of a hill which gives a view of the whole town. Now Bilhana, the Kashmirian poet, tells us that the '*vāpis*' are scattered throughout Kashmir—they are so characteristic of the Kashmirian towns.[188] Again, in his highly suggestive style Kalidasa records that

the house of Yaksha could be spotted by marks of the *sankha* and the *padma* on its doorways; similarly, Kalhana, in his Raja Tarangini, brings out a comparison between Alaka and Kashmir and point out that Kashmir is chiefly marked by its two lakes, the *sankha* and the *padma*[189]; the only difference between the description of Kashmir as compared with Alakā by Kalhana and the description of Alakā (as applied to Kashmir) by Kalidasa appears to be that of a *simile* and a *metaphor* only.

Now it makes clear to us that the description of the route of the Cloud in the Himalayas and of the home of Yaksha in that region is not fabulous or unreal but is a highly *idealized* description of the real sites which can be identified in Kashmir along the marks that give a strong indication that the home of Kalidasa was in Kashmir. Thus in accordance with the Meghaduta the native city of Kalidasa *Yaksha* in Kashmir must fulfil the following conditions[190] :—

(1) It must be situated in the valley below the Kashmirian 'Kailasa' or the Harmukh mountain, on the bank of the Ganga, not far away from the residence of Siva and of his friend Kuvera, (*Vide* Meghaduta:—town, below Kailasa on the Ganga's bank 63, vicinity of Siva's residence U-10; *Dhanapati grihād* might denote a temple of Kuvera U-12. Kuvera Bhawan also mentioned in V-U, numerous in Kashmir-see note 48.)

(2) It must contain a spring or *vāpi* bound with steps, at the foot of a hill which gives a general view of the city. (*Vide* Meghaduta U-13, 14.)

(3) It must be a flourishing town and contain lofty houses in the past, and in this sense it must be of some historical importance. (Meghaduta U-12.)

All the above conditions are fulfilled by the ancient town of Mayagrama[191] —modern Manigām, which is situated *below*, in the *lap* of the Haramukuta mountain as it were—तस्योत्सङ्गे, towards the upper valley of the popular Sindh Ganga on its very banks in Kashmir. Mayagrama has also in its neighbourhood a hill which gives a view of the whole city, *at the foot of which* exists, even to this day, an ancient tank constructed with stones, which is filled with the waters of a beautiful spring held sacred by the neighbouring people. Mounds containing big boulders, giving indications of an ancient *temple* are still noted in the vicinity of the town past the ancient road running up the valley: it may be a Kuvera's *temple*. The town is situated not far below the Vasistha Asrama close upon the *Bhuteshvara* the famous *residence of Siva* noted in Meghaduta U-10, which Kalidasa has also described in the Kumara Sambhava. Marks of lofty houses are now obliterated, for these constructions were of wood in ancient Kashmir, but the ancient name, Mayagrama, suggests that the town was noted for its architecture, for 'Maya' in our legendary history,[192] is reputed as a great architect. Yakshas are described as the residents of the town in the Meghaduta and the Yakshas too are known as great architects in Kashmir.[192]

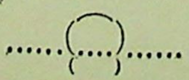
The town is recorded to have played some historical part in the later history of Kashmir and as it is not far removed from the historical Hiranyapura, it may depend for its flourishing condition in still earlier times on *that* ancient capital of Kashmir.[192a] It is noted for its fertile area which yielded large revenues to the state in ancient times. Mayagrama is noted even to this day for its numerous beautiful rice-fields.

We have already explained that the poet who so frequently refers to the rice-fields and shows his great familiarity with the crop of rice in its growth at various stages, must have watched with affection the rice-fields which have such a hold upon his imagination as to appear so frequently even in his similes and metaphors, and studied them carefully from the days of his infancy in the skirts of the city in which he was born. Mayagrama-*Manigam* may thus be noted as the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir.

Alakā the home of Yaksha in the Meghaduta is situated in the lap—उत्सङ्गे of the Kailasa mountain noted for its Mãnasa lake, on the bank of the Gangā, in the vicinity of Siva's residence and the temple of Kuvera, round a hill which gives a view of the city and has a spring bound with steps at its foot. The town is noted for its lofty houses with their *high* rainbow arches. The topography of the town and its description best agrees with Mayagrama or modern Manigam which may be said to be situated in the *lap* of the Kashmirian Kailasa, namely the Haramukuta Mountain noted for its Uttarmanasa or the Haramukuta—Gangà lake; on the banks of the Sindh or the Kashmirian Gangà, in the vicinity of a temple whose huge relics are still noted there, close upon the residence of Siva Bhutesh, round the spurs of the hill named '*Mohand marg*' which gives a view of the city and has a spring bound with steps named *Vatasan Nãga* at its foot. The town Mayagrama—as the term *Maya* after which it is named suggests, and as any residence of Yakshas the great builders in Kashmir may be supposed to be, and as is also borne out by its history and *locality* between the *famous* Tirthas of Bhutesh and the Vasistha Asrama on the one hand and the *historical* Hiranyapura on the other and some ancient huge relics of stone around it—must have been in the past a magnificent place full of *lofty* houses—so characteristic of ancient Kashmir; which being mostly of *wooden* construction in the Valley no longer survive. The trefoiled archways with their *lofty* pediments so characteristic of ancient Kashmirian architecture are poetically described by Kalidasa—with the *prominent upper* arch* in mind the lower wings of which did not appear *striking* at a distance from which the cloud was expected to see—as the *lofty* Toranas with *high rainbow* arches. Alaka is described in the Meghaduta as a flourishing town so is Mayagrama noted in history even as late as the eleventh century A.D.—in earlier times it seems to have drawn its importance not only from the neighbouring capital of Kashmir namely Hiranyapura—which figures in the Vikrama Urvasi and which like Mayagrama is now a *ruined* village; but also from the fact that it draws visitors from all parts of Kashmir on their way to pilgrimage to the

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neighbouring sites of Siva Bhutesh. The inhabitants of Alaka are said to enjoy music, taste wine distilled from flowers, and make themslves merry in company with their wives who are noted for their matchless and *effective* sidelong glances (for in that town Cupid is in constant terror of the neighbouring Siva—*Bhutesh*) and who are said to adorn themselves with flowers and flowers only—which we know grow so abundantly in Kashmir, the noted valley of flowers, where wine was not prohibited and where fine-arts were in a flourishing condition in ancient times. Indeed, the whole description of Alakā resembles closely the *real* description of Kashmir and its towns furnished by the well-known poet of Kashmir, Bilhana[193]. Thus Mayagrama—*Manigam* in Kashmir is the *ideal* Alaka of Kalidasa who is disguised as Yaksha in the Meghaduta. This fixes the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir.

Having thus fixed the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir in the light of passages culled from his works we shall now briefly describe the course of his peregrinations outside Kashmir.

It is admitted on all hands that the Ritusamhar is the first work of our poet. The Ritusamhar gives an impression that the poem was written when the poet was away from home and that he had left his home during the days of his youth. Kalidasa addresses the poem to his beloved[194]—*Priye*, obviously his own wife whose praise is immortalized in his later work, the Meghaduta. In the Ritusamhar the poet frequently refers to the pangs of the separation of husbands who are away from home, with extraordinary warmth and feeling and in that connection never forgets the condition of their wives at home.[195] The whole description is marked with such fervour and is so full of personal touches that it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that Kalidasa himself was the traveller and the *Priye*, or the lady at home his own wife.[196] His blessings for the full enjoyment of the delights of seasons to those who are at home presumably in company with their wives, are always touching.[197] Ritu Samhara (I.10) clearly suggests that Kalidasa hails from the cold country and that he was unaccustomed to the hot-wind, the dusty sky, and the heat of the plains which he met for the first time and which he was unable to endure all the more because he was already heated with the fire of separation from his wife.[198] Ritu Samhara (VI 27) betrays the deep sense of regret and laments the lot of a traveller with such a deep anguish and disproportionate sorrowfulness that it cannot but reflect the poet's own state of mind.[199] It appears that Kalidasa did not meet his wife till after he had composed the Meghaduta where the Yaksha's separation from his wife is described as his प्रथमविरह (M.D.U. 31) and where the hope is held out of meeting her again after four months. Again, we notice that excellences of the beautiful ladies that are described as lying scattered in various beautiful objects in the Ritu Samhara (III 17·18·25) are all summed up in the Meghaduta (uttara, v. 41) and applied to the wife of Yaksha or our poet's own wife[200]. Thus the Meghaduta represents a *continuity* of sentiment and thought with the Ritusamhar; they must have been composed outside his home in Kashmir. Malavikagnimitra, however, has to be placed between these two works for Kalidasa had no

reputation of a standard work to support him when he staged the drama [201].

Now, the Ritu Samhara (II. 8, 27) suggests that Kalidasa was living somewhere on the Vindhya hills when he composed the poem; but they cannot be his home for the poet is not accustomed to their hot climate, against which he makes a real complaint.[202] The Malavikagnimitra further suggests a closer familiarity with Vidisha on the north of the Vindhyas and the Vidarbha on their south.[203] His next work, the Meghaduta, was composed in the vicinity of the Vidarbha, on the Ramgiri hills, to the north of Nagpur—रामगिर्याश्रमेषु. The geographical data supplied by the Meghaduta suggests that Kalidasa had by that time made himself familiar not only with the Central Provinces and Central India but also with the United Provinces. Surely Kalidasa must have visited these places on his way from Kashmir to Central India—he did not drop on the Vindhyas from the Himalayas! He seems to have adopted the same route for coming out from Kashmir as was adopted by Raghu for entering Kashmir [204]. From Mayagrama, across Muzaffarabad, near the meeting-place of the Vitastā with the Kishen Ganga or the 'Sindhu' on the banks of which the armies of Raghu had halted, he entered the North-West country, the Hazara district, and visited the Indus valley which is already referred to in the Malavikagnimitra. [205] By way of the Punjab which finds little reference in his works—where he probably did not halt on account of its unsettled condition due to its Hun-occupation, he seems to have visited such sacred Tirthas as Kanakhal, Kurukshetra and Muttra which find their reference in the Meghaduta, and passed on to Bengal whose winter-crop of rice is mentioned in his first work, the Ritu samhara V, before he took a turn for Central India and finally settled on the Vindhya hills where he composed his Meghaduta. The Meghaduta further suggests that Kalidasa had halted for some time at Dasapura and lived longer at Ujjain which is described with greater familiarity of detail. In recommending these places to his Cloud-messanger Kalidasa repeats his own experience when he visted them. At Dasapura Kalidasa like his messenger Cloud was made a target of the curious and lovely glances of its women; for the line—पात्रीकुर्वन्दशपुरवधू नेत्रकौतूहलानाम् (M. D. 49,) may very well suggest *curiosity* on the part of the women of Dasapura at the sight of Kalidasa who came *fresh* from the *distant* land of Kashmir, and signify that Kalidasa was a mere stranger and not a native of Dasapura where he was *noted* by women with a lovely *curiosity* for his fair and handsome figure which Kashmiris are generally said to possess. At Ujjain too Kalidasa directs the Cloud to make itself familiar with the fickle glances of its women लोलापाङ्गैर्यदिनरमसे लोचनैर्वञ्चितोऽसि (M.D. 27.) But it may appear rather strange that in his description of the beautiful women of Alaka, Kalidasa makes no request to the Cloud that it should make itself familiar with the sporting glances of its women for which they were specially noted (M. D. U. 10) The contrast is significant. It signifies that at both these places viz., Ujjain and Dasapura, Kalidasa looks with the eyes of a *stranger* only which is not the case with his own home at Alakā or 'Mayagrama'. Kalidasa narrates

his own experience as a visitor to Ujjain when he reminds the Cloud—who is also to visit Ujjain, how the people of Ujjain take delight in narrating to those who visit it, the stories of Udayana and Vāsavadattā-प्राप्यावन्तीनुदयनकथाकोविदग्रामवृद्धान् (M.D.30.) Indeed, Ujjain with its famous Mahâkāla temple must have attracted visitors from Kashmir in ancient times[206]. The RajaTarangini connects Ujjain with Kashmir, as a centre of great political activity [207]. Ujjain occupies a place in the old fairytales of Kashmir as recorded in the Kathā Sarit Sagar.[208] It must have been a flourishing town when Kalidasa adopted it as his place of residence, and left Kashmir which, during the days of its Hun-occupation, was not a strong and beneficent political power to retain a mighty genius like himself. Besides this, examples of the exodus of the Kashmirian poets to India proper are known to us in all periods of Indian history[209]. Bilhana, the Kashmirian who lived at Kalyan, travelled round the whole country [210]. Kalidasa also was one of these travelling geniuses. No doubt he stayed at Ujjain much longer but Ujjain was by no means his permanent place of residence nor did it offer him any permanent patronage. Kalidasa was too free a soul to live under patronage of this king or that king. Like many other favourites of Sarasvati, Kalidasa was also subjected to the frowns of Lakshmi. Thus in the Vikrama Urvasi he specially prays for the union of Lakshmi and Saraswati, and in the Raghuvansa (VI, 29) it is pointed out, that such a union of Lakshmi and Saraswati, or wealth and learning, was attained in the country of Anga or modern Bhagalpura [211]. It may be that that prayer of Kalidasa was granted in that country, and that the Vikrama Urvasi which shows the poet's further acquaintance with Kāshi and Prayāga, was composed or rewarded for its composition in that country. The Vikrama Urvasi appears to have followed the composition of the Meghaduta for it may denote that Kalidasa had met his wife at last and this time had brought her with him to India proper, even as Vikrama had brought his Urvasi (from round Hiranyapura modern *Ranyl* in Kashmir [211a]) with him. It is likely that the theme of the Vikrama Urvasi was chosen by the poet as it represented his own state of life at that time. The poet first lived in company with his wife like Vikrama but like Vikrama, under the influence of a curse, he was separated from his wife-as is fully borne out by the Ritusamhara and the Meghaduta; like Vikrama again he was reunited with his family. But when Kalidasa began to live with his family, his wants naturally increased, and he seems to have migrated with his family to the *Anga* country, noted for the union of Lakshmi and Saraswati, where all his needs were satisfied. It was at some such place and time as this that when Kalidasa was free from all wordly anxieties that he composed that perfect gem of poetry, namely the Kumara Sambhava. The Kumara Sambhava marks an epoch in the life of the poet, when he met his wife at last to whom he was singularly devoted, after her long suffering due to his absence from Kashmir. It represents a change that had come on our poet regarding his views on human love. Love was so far a passion with him. He has learnt now, possibly from his wife, that the proof of

love lies not in the physical charms but in ones ability to suffer. Thus he finds a suitable theme to express his changed views in the marriage of Parvati with Siva, after the severe test of her hard spiritual penances. The Kumāra Sambhava also gives our poet an opportunity to describe the beauties of the Himalayas in the north which he remembers so affectionately when he is living far away from them in the south. Thus he fondly recalls to his mind—अस्त्युत्तरस्यां दिशि देवतात्मा हिमालयो नाम नगाधिराजा ! Having given a moral and spiritual *purpose* to love in the Kumara Sambhava, the poet now offers its philosophical explanation in the Sakuntala, and *minutely* works out a philosophy of life on the lines of the Pratyabhijna—scanty references to which are scattered throughout his earlier works—as learnt from the Saiva Āgamas during the days of his studentship in Kashmir. His fatherly interest in Sakuntala and his concluding prayer in the drama (ममापि च क्षपयतु. .पुनर्भवं ..) show that Kalidasa at the time of writing the drama was well-advanced in age.[212] In the Raghuvansa we note that the King of Anupas is remembered for his reverential regard for men well-versed in the Agamas. The King of Anupas is described as आगमवृद्धसेवी (Raghuvansa VI. 41). It appears that Kalidasa who was now well-advanced in age and learning (आगमवृद्धः) was received with great honour in the country of Anupas (modern Mhow in Malawa) where he was much revered for his expert knowledge and the authority of the Agamas - which if belonging to the Pratyabhijna as we have pointed out on page 28; were learnt by Kalidasa in Kashmir[212a]. It is possible that it was in this country that Kalidasa composed Sakuntala which in a disguised form is a treatise on the Agama philosophy of Kashmir.

The last work, *viz.*, the Raghuvansa that was left incomplete, and that supplies us with abundant geographical material was possibly composed at Magadha, probably a great political power in the days of Kalidasa, whose king is given the first rank among the important kings recognised at the Swayamvara of Indumati [213].

The favourite places of residence of Kalidasa outside Kashmir appear to have been Magadha, Anga, Avanti, Anupa, Saurasena, and Nagpur, whose kings receive a graceful mention at the Swayamvara of Indumati and none of whom is said to have been defeated at the hand of Raghu. But the countries of Kamarupa and Bengal are mentioned only to be defeated by Raghu [213a]. The king of Kamarupa trembled on hearing of the approach of Raghu to his country and the king of Bengal was easily defeated and re-installed after having been deposed by him. Bengal received no more attention than its cultivation of Kalama rice and the summary reference to it is not at all entertaining. Hilly Assam (Kama rupa) or Bengal therefore cannot be the home of Kalidasa. Kalidasa visited the south too. Mention of countries in the south also supplies us with information of characteristic details of that part of India—such as the sandal woods, the pepper forests, cardamom creepers, the Tamala and the date trees and the Kerala women too. But as we have already pointed out, such passing references to characteristic details of a country cannot *alone* finally settle the home of Kalidasa in a particular part of the country. Sarayu is also noted, with its

characteristic alligators, though Ayodhya seems to have been a deserted place in the days of Kalidasa. Kalidasa must have seen the Greek women described by him and he must have met Persians, probably in the North-West of India, whose faces with their characteristic plaited beards are, with a sad humour, compared with the fly-covered honey-combs (Raghuvansa IV). Now if we settle the home of Kalidasa on the basis of a few characteristic details only then Kalidasa may be described as a native of Malawa, or Bengal, or Oudh, or Madras, or the North-Western Provinces, as a matter of fact of any part of the country whose characteristic features he has described, but he cannot possibly be a native of more than one part. The fact is that Kalidasa was a great travelling genius and like other Kashmirian poets such as Bilhana and others, he left his home in Kashmir, though, unlike them, he never finally returned to Kashmir to have left his memory at *home.* Kalidasa travelled throughout the length and breadth of India, all his life, and noted the characteristic points of each country he visited. Thus the mention of a few characteristic details cannot settle the home of Kalidasa unless the details are disproportionately long and minute and marked with natural affection and significant personal touches and supplemented by other overwhelming evidences in the same direction, as we have already supplied.

We further note that in all his important works, written at different times and in different countries, Kalidasa takes us back to one and the same country, namely Kashmir. In none of his important works is the connecting link with Kashmir broken. The Raghuvansa is connected with Kashmir, not only through Raghu's expedition to the *land* of *saffron*, but through the Vasistha Asrama in Kashmir, which occupies a long and entertaining description in the first two cantos, where Dilipa all his way from the Kosala country goes to pay his respects to Vasistha. The Sakuntala is connected with Kashmir through the Kashyapa Asrama which is Kashmir itself where Dushyanta goes to meet his wife and learn the secret of the Pratyabhijna philosophy from the Guroo Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir, home of the Pratyabhijna philosophy. The Vikrama Urvasi connects India proper with Kashmir through Vikrama and Urvasi. Vikrama all his way from Kausambi near Allahabad goes to worship the sun at Suryopasthan or an ancient temple of Mărtand in Kashmir, and round about Hiranyapura or modern *Ranyil* in Kashmir, he meets his Urvasi, in whose company he later visits the Gandhamadan in the vicinity of Kashmir. The Meghaduta connects Central India with Kashmir through the Cloud whose destination is the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir, Thus wherever the poet goes, and whatever countries he describes, the memories of Kashmir always haunt his imagination and in the Kumara Sambhava he entirely retreats to Kashmir. This remarkable "*duplicity*" of sites in his works, one of which is always Kashmir, can only be explained by supposing *two* places of residence for our poet; one of them must be his home, obviously the common one, that is, Kashmir.

The common site to which the poet retreats in all his works and the pleasures of which he wishes to enjoy in company with his readers, is Kashmir. The poet constantly draws on Kashmir for names of its local sites such as the Apsaras Tirtha, the Sachi Tirtha, etc., employed as general names of places, in his works. Such inclination in the mind of the poet as this can best be explained by locating his home in Kashmir.

No other part of India like Kashmir, which abounds in natural scenery, can so suit the home and training-ground of Kalidasa, who may be described as the favourite child of nature which is so bountiful in her choicest gifts to Kashmir in the shape of clear waters, grassy meadows, snowy peaks, stately trees and lovely flowers: all of which appear to make a combined effort in producing the genius of Kalidasa in whom they find their best and noblest expression. Indeed, the charming character of the poetry of Kalidasa is revealed by the charming beauty of the Valley of Kashmir, just as the austere character of the poetry of Bhava Bhuti, the child of the Vindhyas, is revealed by the stern aspect of the Vindhya mountain with its torrential streams and awe-inspiring and thick forests.[214] Thus Kalidasa cannot belong to Bengal or to Malawa either—the lion of the forest of Vasistha Asrama in Kashmir figures more prominently in his works then the tigers of Bengal and the *numerous* allusions to rice take us away from Malawa which is not *pre-eminently* a rice-producing country. Indeed the saffron plant in Kalidasa with its vigorous scent leads us to Kashmir—the *domesticated* musk-deer with their fragrance also invite us to that land. The birch-tree murmurs the same song into our ears. The towery mountain with its snowy peaks and the graceful panorama around it, together with the lakes with their pinks lotuses and serene waters, and its flow of liquid gold (Kanaka Vāhini) gives us a *glimpse* of Kashmir. The *icy*-waters and the fruit-trees supply us with the same *taste* as we enjoy in Kashmir. The breezes coming from the Deva daru trees also *touch* us in the works of Kalidasa, who has a longing for the breeze that is scented with the juice of Devadaru—perchance it may bring to him the aroma of the locks of hair of his wife at home in Kashmir that is crowned with the Devadaru trees. (M. D. U. 44) Kalidasa indeed takes delight in decorating the ladies at his home at Alaka in Kashmir with various kinds of *flowers*, and *flowers* only which he might have easily culled from that reputed *Valley of flowers*, namely Kashmir.

The sweetest fruits in the opinion of Kalidasa belong to the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir (Sakuntala VII. 12) the most delightful waters belong to the Manas lake or Uttara Ganga in Kashmir (M.D.-62) the sweetest air is that coming from the Deva daru trees (M. D. U.-44.) that crown the highlands of the valley of Kashmir, the sweetest place of enjoyment is the Haramukh-Kailasa which Kalidasa recommends to the Cloud from his own experience at *home* (M.D. 62). What is it of Kashmir that is not dear to Kalidasa—its air, its water, its fruits,

and its flowers? Indeed, the whole land of Kashmir is so *dear* to him—

अहो रमणीया पृथिवी । स्वर्गादधिकतरं निर्वृतिस्थानम् ।
अमृतह्रदमिवावगाढोस्मि,

its people so *great*—उत्सर्पिणी खलु महतां प्रार्थना—that Kashmir can not but be considered as the home, the sweet home, of Kalidasa.

We also note that special arts and industries of Kashmir are mentioned in Kalidasa. References to the Kashmirian style of architecture in a tone of admiration and to पत्रोर्ण or the 'leaf of wool'—some ancient design of 'shawl,' the special industry of Kashmir, are found in his works.

But the home of Kalidasa should not only be the home of natural beauty and of such technical and industrial arts denoted by Kalidasa, it should also be a great seat of learning, especially noted for its dramatic art, medicine, Jyotish-shastra and the Agama shastras, whose knowledge is fully revealed in the works of Kalidasa. We know that Kashmir in ancient India was regarded as the home of Saraswati (शारदा देश) and was noted for all these arts and sciences known to Kalidasa.[215]

Now the question may be raised that if Kalidasa was a Kashmiri why did not Kalhana, the author of the Raja Tarangini, mention him in his history of Kashmir, why is there no such tradition about him in Kashmir? Our answer is why should Kalhana mention Kalidasa at all? Kalidasa did not play the least part in the political history of Kashmir. His literary career began and ended outside Kashmir, though all his learning was derived from Kashmir, which, as we have mentioned above, was an important seat of learning in ancient India. But like some of the modern and ancient Kashmiris Kalidasa left his home in Kashmir for good by sheer necessity or spirit of enterprize and won his fame outside Kashmir. No historian of Kashmir would care to mention these outside names in the proper history of Kashmir unless they were in some way *related* to events in the history of Kashmir. Kalidasa, therefore, has no place in the proper history of Kashmir. Moreover, Kalhana's chronicle, before the Karkota dynasty, is so scrappy and inaccurate that one cannot expect from him any correct and detailed information of that ancient period.[216] We believe that Kalidasa left his home during the unsettled days of the Hun-occupation in Kashmir. Kalidasa in the (Raghuvansa IV) makes an allusion to the Huns in the north, regions of Kuvera, in the *land of saffron*, which could not mean any country other than Kashmir. This *exact* location of Huns in the saffron-country in the north cannot be based on a vague and indefinite reference to the Huns in the Sabha Parva of the Mahabharata as is suggested by Mr. Nandargikar in his introduction of the Raghuvansa. It appears to be actual and *historical*.

In this connection the Mandasore stone-pillar inscription of Yasodharman, of about 532 A.D., comes to our aid. It mentions the Huns as a terror in India in 532 A.D.,—नाज्ञा हूणाधिपानां क्षितिपतिमुकुटाध्यासिनी यान् प्रविष्टा (Verse 4, line 2); that is about the time when in our opinion

Kalidasa flourished. Again verse 6 of the same inscription describes Mihirakula as defeated by Yasodharman :—

> स्थाणोरन्यत्र येन प्रणतिकृपणतां प्रापितं नोत्तमाङ्गं
> यस्याश्लिष्टो भुजाभ्यां वहति हिमगिरिर्दुर्गशब्दाभिमानम्।
> नीचैस्तेनापि यस्य प्रणतिभुजबलावर्जनक्लिष्टमूर्ध्ना
> चूडापुष्पोपहारैर्मिहिरकुलनृपेणार्चितं पादयुग्मम् ॥

This Mihirakula can be no other than that terrible Hun ruler of Kashmir in the *Himalayas*, who, as described in the above verse, is also known to us on the authority of the Raja Tarangini as a worshipper of Siva in Kashmir (R.T.I. 306). Indeed, the conquests of Raghu in the Raghuvansa (IV.) seem to have been suggested to the mind of Kalidasa by the conquests of Yasodharman which as described in verse 5 of the same inscription correspond in their boundary-limits with those of Raghu in the Raghuvansa. आलौहित्यो पकण्ठात् तलवनगहनोपत्यकादा महेन्द्राद् । आगङ्गाश्लिष्टसानोस्तुहिनशिखरिणः पश्चिमादापयोधेः । सामन्तैर्यस्य बाहुद्रविणहृतमदैः पादयोरानमद्भिः चूडारत्नांशुराजि व्यतिकरशबला भूमिभागाः क्रियन्ते ॥ This makes Kalidasa a contemporary of Yasodharman. However, the saffron-country with its Hun rulers, as pointed out above is *Kashmir* and not any other saffon-producing country such as Bulkh which is not so popular among Indian writers as Kashmir is for its production of *nice* saffron [216a]. In our literary traditions, the country suggested by the name saffron is always Kashmir—कुङ्कुमदेश. Moreover, the ascent of Raghu to the high peaks of the Himalayan mountains in the Raghuvansa (IV. 71) could only be understood by camping Raghu below the higher altitudes of the Himalayas, somewhere at Muzaffarabad in Kashmir rather than on the higher stations of Bulkh, which cannot be said to be situated on the bank of the Sindhu either[216 b] (IV. 67, 68). Thus in our opinion Kalidasa left his home in Kashmir during the days of its foreign domination by the Huns and sought new lands for the display of his genius after the manner of several other Kashmirian writers.

The absence of literary tradition about the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir may further be understood when we realize that ancient literary tradition in Kashmir is cut off owing to a long gap in the history of Kashmir that is so full of horrid tales of Muslim persecution and tyranny in that 'happy valley.'[217] It may be that the tradition was living in the days of Bilhana, who could not have described his country as the birth-place of saffron and of *poetry*, unless he had known that Kalidasa, the greatest Sanskrit poet, (कविकुलगुरुः कालिदासः) was a native of Kashmir.[218] It may be that on some future date some fresh works of our poet may be discovered—for a genius like that of Kalidasa might easily have composed more than seven works; and that some old birch-bark in some dark corner of the country may throw more light on the subject. But in the meantime let us satisfy ourselves with the proofs that are with us and make the best use of them we can.

We have already shewn that Kalidasa was a great traveller. He has given us an account of the most salient features of every

part of the country he visited, but against these passing references we meet with an overwhelming description of the Kashmirian Himalayas (especially note the Haramukuta mountain in Kashmir, which, of all other mountains, Kalidasa is asking the Cloud to enjoy, as he might have done during the days of his early youth in Kashmir) in his works with affectionate touches which can not be accounted for except on the supposition that Kalidasa was connected in some *closer* way with the Kashmirian mountains than with any other mountain he had visited and described, such as the Mahendra, the Sahayya, the Malaya, and the Vindhyas. We have already stated that the genius of Kalidasa bore the stamp of the Himalayas. It appears to be the product of the Himalayas, even as the genius of Bhavabhuti is the product of the Vindhyas. So strong is the affinity between the soul of Kalidasa and the Himalayas, so strong are the ties of natural environment of the Himalayas where the poet was brought up, that though living on the Vindhyas he was always dreaming of the Himalayas and his sweet home in the Himalayas. We have seen that all the descriptions of the Himalayas fit in more closely with the scenes in Kashmir. We have also noted the identification of local sites in Kashmir and pointed out that his works reveal knowledge of social customs, legendary lore, political conditions and geographical names of local importance peculiar to Kashmir only, and that they reveal that knowledge not after the casual manner of a borrower or a visitor but in a full and exhaustive manner like a native of Kashmir with home-like affection for that country. On his own authority, Kalidasa may not be considered an *outside* visitor to Kashmir, which country he believes is not generally visited by outsiders of their own accord :— न पुनरात्मगत्या मानुषाणामेष विषयः (Sak. VII) We have also noted that Kalidasa professes the religion and philosophy in his works that is distinctly Kashmirian in its tone and character. Further, his Meghaduta gives us a strong indication that leaves no doubt in our mind that Kashmir was the *home* of Kalidasa where he had received not only his birth but also his learning and character which are so fully revealed in his writings composed during the course of his peregrinations outside Kashmir, and where again he was married to a fortunate lady who had such an abiding influence on his character and his philosophy of life.

Thus the argument of the Ritu Samhara is the argument of the poet's migration for the first time from his home in the *cold country* to the tropical plains below: —Bengal or Malawa or the country round the Vindhya range, to the heat of which our poet is so unaccustomed. (R.S. I. 10) The feeling for home has quickly stolen in the heart of Kalidasa as he is out at Rama Giri where he is bound to stay for some unavoidable reasons. Thus the Meghaduta is conceived. The argument of the Meghaduta is the argument of our poet's love for his *home* in the Himalayas or the *cold country* of Kashmir. The argument of the Kumara Sambhava is the argument of *refreshing* the happy memories of the Himalayas on the part of our poet, from which he has been detached for so long ; that also points to Kashmir. The argument of

Sakuntala is the argument of our poet's personal religion and philosophy and that again points to Kashmir as his home.

Again, the argument of all his works taken together is the argument of the Kashmirian philosophy of Pratyabhijna, or *recognition* as the source of *Union*—whether it is the Malavikagnimitra with its *Siddhādesha*, or the Meghaduta with its *Abhijnāna Vāda*, or the Vikrama Urvasi with its *Sangamaniya mani*, or the Kumara Sambhava with its *Bhāvaika-rasam-manah*, or the Sakuntala with its *Abhijnana Ābharanam*. The argument of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, not known outside Kashmir in the days of Kalidasa but well-known to the Kashmirian tradition of the Nilmat in those early centuries, is the argument of our poet's home in Kashmir.

Now those of our friends who do not agree with the present theory have to prove that the disproportionately detailed and frequent descriptions of the scenes and sites of the Himalayas that have made their *home* in the imagination of Kalidasa, together with various descriptions of Kashmir in the Himalayas that are frequently met with in his works have nothing to do with his home in Kashmir; they are merely due to the *genius* of Kalidasa and that any genius outside Kashmir could offer such descriptions. But can they tell us of a single genius outside Kashmir who has painted for us such a variety of graphic pictures of the Himalayas and made such affectionate and home-like references to Kashmir as Kalidasa has? Surely not. Yet they did not mean that Kalidasa was the only poetic genius that India, outside Kashmir, has produced ; they did not mean either that Kalidasa was the only Indian poet who ever visited the Himalayas.

Again, they will also be required to shew in the works of the Sanskrit writers not belonging to Kashmir, such 'unconscious' allusions to Kashmir that burst out even in similes and metaphors, and such direct references to ' unimportant ' places and local legends and customs in Kashmir as appear in the works of Kalidasa.

They will also be required to prove the existence of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir in the works of Sanskrit writers outside Kashmir, as early as the days of Kalidasa ; and finally they will be called upon to prove such a keen and *personal* interest in the Himalayas among the Sanskrit writers not belonging to Kashmir, as to locate the *home* of their *hero* in the Himalayas, who should represent *their own* state of mind—*Vipralambha*.

Again our friends who do not agree with this theory of the home of Kalidasa in Kashmir have to prove that the Meghaduta does not represent the poet's personal feelings for home, that the *direction* of home in the Himalayas was insignificant, that the poet's style is in no way suggestive of his home-sick condition of mind, that the character of Yaksha is not Kashmirian, that the *route* of the Cloud to the Kailasa mountain, with its *incidents*, has no correspondence with the route, and incidents of Siva's journey to the Kashmirian Kailasa or the

Haramukuta mountain, and if any it is mere accidental and not based on the Nilmat tradition of Kashmir, that the description of *Alaka* with its *lofty* houses with rainbow arches does not apply to a Kashmirian town or the style of architecture with trefoiled arches on *lofty* pediments in Kashmir, and that finally the topography of Alaka is not the same as that of the Mayagrama—Manigam in Kashmir. They have also to prove that the connection between the Sakuntala and the Pratyabhijna Philosophy of Kashmir was gratuitous, or that Kalidasa did not represent the Pratyabhijna or the monistic form of Saivism, or that the Pratyabhijna type of the monistic Saivism existed even outside Kashmir during the days of Kalidasa, or that Kalidasa borrowed it in one of his works only. They have also to prove that the Vasistha Asrama in the Raghuvansa is not identical with the Vasistha Asrama in Kashmir or that the *Kashmirian* Vasistha Asrama was so popular as to have attracted the attention of writers outside Kashmir; they will also be required to account for such *familiar* and *frequent* allusions to local sites in Kashmir as are made by Kalidasa or to disprove the identification of the sites such as the Vasistha Asrama, the Soma Tirtha, the Apsaras Tirtha, the Sachi Tirtha close upon the Sakra Tirtha, the Brahma Sara, etc. They have to explain why of all other mountains in India, the one Haramukuta of Kashmir, with its golden waters (Kanaka-rasa), the Manasa lake, the Brahma Sara, the Apsaras Tirtha, Bhutesh and the adjoining Vasistha Asrama, alone figures so prominently in all works of Kalidasa—why the Kailasa of the Meghaduta, the Himadriprastha of the Kumara Sambhava, and the Hemakuta of the Sakuntala always denote the same mountain, Haramukuta in Kashmir. Taking for granted that all these sites were well-known outside Kashmir and they could easily be described by non-Kashmirian writers, question will be raised why does Kalidasa lead us in such 'unconscious' and familiar manner to sites in *Kashmir* only; why does he show his greatest regard for Kashyapa (the founder of Kashmir) and not for Vasistha or Valmiki either, and why is he so sweet on Kashmir? They will also be called upon to account for the use of the terms Ganga and Sindhu, by Kalidasa in their Kashmirian sense; and finally to refute our identification of Nikumbha with the Nikumbha of Kashmir; and if they are the supporters of the Bengal or the Malawa theory they will be required to fit in all these arguments in favour of either country and illustrate the five proofs that we have advanced in the light of their theories. As far as our knowledge goes, none of these proofs can apply either to Bengal or to Malawa or to any other part of India except Kashmir. We have already stated that the description of Bengal in Kalidasa is so meagre and devoid of any attraction and that the description of Malawa especially Ujjain—though a little more detailed, in *one* of his works, can be accounted for by assuming Ujjain to be our poet's place of *temporary* residence only. The associations of neither of the countries or of any other part of India appear in similes and metaphors in his works with so much frequency as those of Kashmir, whose topography, natural scenery, mountains, lakes golden lotuses, saffron, birch, icy waters, lofty houses, characteristic

arches, 'leaf of wool' the *'Patrorna'* or the Kashmirian *'Pānbur'*—without which no Kashmiri girl—like Mālavika, can be married; as the emblem of a bride's marriage-garment, Yakshas, Nagas, Nikumbha of the famous legend, Tirthas, Asramas, customs, religion and philosophy: all appear and reappear in Kalidasa.

In as much as none of the five proofs we have enumerated apply to Malawa or to Bengal or to any other part of India than Kashmir, and as they apply with full force to Kashmir our argument in favour of Kashmir as the birth-place of Kalidasa remains as strong as ever. On the strength of our arguments therefore, based as they are on the cumulative evidence already supplied, we come to the final and definite conclusion that the birth-place of Kalidasa was in Kashmir, and since the poet deals so much with the scenes and sites of that part of the valley in Kashmir that is watered by the Kashmirian Gangā or the Sindh and guarded by the Haramukuta mountain, his home may be located in the Sindh valley in northern Kashmir [219]. And in the light of the description of the Yaksha's home in Kashmir we may infer that Mayagrama, modern *Manigam* on the bank of the Ganga, in the vicinity of the Vasishta Asrama or the neighbourhood of Siva Bhutesh, in the *lap* of the Harmukh mountain, has the honour of being the birth-place of our poet—*Pandit* Kalidasa *Yaccha*, of immortal fame and glory. Indeed the finest flower that India could offer to humanity comes from the Happy Garden of Kashmir. The Garden has already been robbed of all its superior charms of life and beauty under the tyranny of the foreign Moslem invasions of Kashmir but the flower that speaks of its ancient glory is fresh and blooming, and still inspires with its gentle and undying breath every Indian heart with hope of life and future greatness.

Notes and References.

1. For Sanskrit influence in Europe, see Macdonell's history of Sanskrit literature Chapter XVI which concludes thus—"The intellectual debt of Europe to Sanskrit literature has thus been undeniably great; it may perhaps become greater still in the years that are to come."

2. For appreciation of Kalidasa, read below—

   (a) निर्गतासु न वा कस्य कालिदासस्य सूक्तिषु ।
   प्रीतिर्मधुर सान्द्रासु मञ्जरीष्विव जायते ॥ Bāna.

   (b) कालिदास गिरां सारः कालिदासः सरस्वती ।
   चतुर्मुखोऽथवा साक्षाद् विदुर्नान्येतु मादृशः ॥ Mallinatha.

3. For lack of appreciation of Kalidasa in later times, read below—
   भारती कालिदासस्य दुर्व्याख्याविषमूर्छिता ।
   एषासंजीविनी टीका तामद्योज्जीवयिष्यति ॥ Mallinatha.

4. For some of the appreciations of Kalidasa by modern critics, see the Hindi work, 'Kalidasa aur Shakespear' by C. L. Dvivedi. The art of transfiguration as applied to the poetry of Kalidasa is my own contribution to the criticism of his works.

5. For description of Ujjain by Kalidasa, see Meghaduta, 27 sq.— वक्रः पन्था यदपि भवतः ।

6. For temple of Skanda see M. D. 43. – तत्रस्कन्दं नियतवसतिं ………

7. For the familiar and sportive glances of the women of Dasapur, see M. D. 47—तामुत्तीर्यव्रज परिचित भ्रूलताविभ्रमाणाम् …………

8. For the birth-place of Kalidasa by Haraprasad Shastri, see J. B. O. R. S. Vol. I pp. 197—212.

9. For Skanda and his connections with Siva and his worship in ancient India, see Bhandarkar; Vaisnavism, etc P. 150—151.

10. For worship of Skanda in Kashmir, see our quotation from Nilmat, 769, appendix A; for numerous sacred places of Kumara or Skanda in Kashmir see N. M. Ed. Zadu (appendix E.). Our Nilmat appendix A, which will be denoted later in notes by N. M. is an abridgement of Zadu's edition.

11. For characteristic description of various provinces in India, see R. V.—IV, for Ayodhya, see R. V. XVI.

12. For the Bengal theory of birth-place of Kalidasa, see, Pravāsi—

13. For आषाढस्य प्रथमदिवसे see M. D. 2, commentary by Malli Nath.

14. For tamarind in Sakuntala see;
    यथा कस्यापि पिण्डखर्जूरैरुद्वेजितस्य तिन्तिडायामभिलाषः

15. I came to learn of the tradition of Kalidasa visiting Bengal, from Mr. A. C. Bose Vakeel of Delhi, who is well-versed in Sanskrit.

15. (*a*) The Vidarbha theory was suggested by M. M. Pandit Harnarain Vidyasagar of Hindu College Delhi.

16. For Malavika in the Vaidarbhi style of dress that resembles the Vaidarbhi style of poetry that is free from long compounds, wordy ornamentation and is so chaste and brilliant; see M. M. V. 7:—

अनतिलम्बिदुकूल निवासिनी
लघुभिराभरणैः प्रतिभातिमे ।
उडुगणैरुदयोन्मुखचन्द्रिका
गतहिमै रिव चैत्रविभावरी ॥

16. (*a*) The Vaidarbhi style praised and adopted by the Kashmirian Bilhana—

अनभ्रवृष्टिः श्रवणामृतस्य सरस्वती विभ्रमजन्मभूमिः ।
वैदर्भरीतिः कृतिनामुदेति सौभाग्यलाभप्रतिभूः पदानाम् । V.D.C.I.9.

Numerous works in the Vaidarbhi style known to Bilhana—

सहस्रशः सन्तु विशारदानां वैदर्भलीला निधयः प्रबन्धाः । *ibid* 13

Kashmir, the home of the poetry, according to Bilhana—

सहोदराः कुङ्कुमकेसराणां भवन्तिनूनं कवितविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्यदृष्ट स्तेषां तदन्यत्रमया प्ररोहः ॥ *ibid* 21

17. For Dr. Bhaudaji's theorey of Kashmir as the probable home of Kalidasa, see The Literary remains of Dr. Bhau Daji pp. 49—51.

17. (*a*) For the exact identification of the people for whom the term Yavana was originally used, it would be interesting to note in Momsen's history of Rome Vol. I. P. 24, that 'The ancient Romans agreed with the Cretons and Laconians in taking their meals not as was afterwards the custom among both people, in a *reclining* but in a sitting posture;" and compare it with the famous illustration शयानाभुञ्जतेयवनाः on the Panini's sutra लक्षणहेत्वाः क्रियायाः 3·2·126, Siddhanta Kaumidi

18. J. B. O. R. S. Vol. I. pp. 197—212.

19. For residence of Siva in the Kumara Sambhava, read below;

सकृत्तिवासास्तपसे यतात्मा गङ्गा प्रवाहोक्षितदेवदारुः !
प्रस्थं हिमाद्रेर्मृगनाभिगन्धि, किंचित्क्वणत्किन्नरमध्युवास !। K.S.I.54.
गणा नमेरु प्रसवावतंसा भूर्जत्वचः स्पर्शवती र्दधानाः । K.S.I.55.

20. For attendance of Nandi on Siva in the K. S. see,

K. S. IV. 41,—ततोगृहद्वारगतोऽथनन्दी—
K. S. IV. 60, तस्मैशशंस प्रणिपत्य नन्दी—

21. For भूतपतेरास्पदम् see K. S. III. 43—

प्रान्तेषुसंसक्तनमेरुशाखं ध्यानास्पदं भूतपतेर्विवेश ।

For Bhutapati, the name of Siva, see K. S. 74—

स्त्री संनिकर्षं परिहर्तु मिच्छन्न न्तर्दधे भूतपतिः स भूतः ।

22. For our identification of the 'Himādri prastha' and its 'Bhutapaterāspadam and the Nandi', with the Haramukuta mountain and its Bhutesh and the Nandi Kshetra, see Stein's R. T. Vol 1 note 1.127, which reads, 'The worship of Siva Bhutesh localized near the sacred sites of mount Haramukuta, has played an important part in the ancient religion of Kashmir;' also see Stein's R. T. Vol. II, 407 which reads ...."The Haramukuta mountain-peaks dominate the view towards the *north* from a great part of the Kashmir Valley, sacred legends have clustered round them from early times, and the lakes below their glaciers belong still to the holiest of the Kashmirian Tirthas. The lake which lies at the foot of the north-eastern glacier is looked upon as the true source of the *Kashmir Ganga* or Sind river and is known as Uttara Ganga. A short distance below the lake is another lake named Kalodaka or Nandi Saras which is said to be the joint habitation of both Siva and his faithful attendant Nandi. From the latter the whole collection of sacred sites takes the name of *Nandi Kshetra* by which Kalhana usually designates it. In the Valley of the Kanaka Vahini which issues from these lakes there lies the sacred site of *Siva Bhutesh* now 'Buthi Ser,' often mentioned in the Raja Tarangini. Bhuteswara is passed by the pilgrims on their way back from the sacred lakes while on their way up they reach the latter by another route, passing the high ridge known as the Bharata giri and the smaller lake of Brahma Saras.'

For the 'Himadriprastha' as our Haramukuta mountain, also note the Nilmat 1231.

शुभं हिमवतः शृङ्गं हरमुकुटमित्यधः
यदस्तिलोके विख्यातं गङ्गाप्रभवमुत्तमम् ।

For attendance of Nandi on Siva see N. M. 1308, Siva addressing the Nandi thus,

गणेश्वरत्वमासाद्य मया सह निवत्स्यसि ॥

For the ' Bhutesh ' see N. M. 1309.

त्वया सह निवत्स्यापि भूत्वा भूतेश्वराख्यया ॥

Also N. M. 1324.

सर्वं देव गणैः सार्द्धं दध्रे भूतेश्वरं हरम् ।
तस्यैव पश्चिमां मूर्तिं सचकाराथनन्दिनम् ॥

And N. M. 1324.

तत्र संनिहितो नन्दी तत्प्रीत्या च महेश्वरः ॥

As for the deodar forests mentioned in K. S. I. 54, they are plenty in Kashmir found generally at high elevations as well as the birch-trees and the musk deer. The Ganga is also there. Thus the exact site of Bhutesh that we have identified best answers the description in the Kumara Sambhava. For the Haramukuta-residence of Bhutesh, in the vicinity of Vasistha Asrama, see note, 25,25*a*; for its Kanaka *rasa* and the Apsaras tirtha and Kashyapa asrama see note 34, for Alaka on the lower ridges of it, identified with Manigam see pp, 44, note 190-191; it is the same Haramukuta mountain whether in the Kumara Sambhava, or Raghuvansa, or Sakuntala or the Meghaduta. (For Hemakuta of V. V. as the same Haramukuta, see pp. 15, 16.)

23. On the poetic merit known as 'appropriateness of names,' writes Kshemendra, a Kashmirian poet in his औचित्य विचार चर्चा thus; नामौचित्यं दर्शयितुमाह,

नाम्ना कर्मानुरूपेण ज्ञायते गुणदोषयोः ।
काव्यस्य पुरुषस्येव व्यक्तिः संवादपातिनी ॥

24. Mention of Vasistha Asrama in the R. V. :—

अथाभ्यर्च्य विधातारं प्रयतौ पुत्रकाम्यया ।
तौ दंपती वशिष्ठस्य गुरोर्जग्मतुराश्रमम् ॥ I. 35.
अन्येद्युरात्मानुचरस्य भावं जिज्ञासमाना मुनिहोमधेनुः ।
गङ्गा प्रपातान्त निरूढ़ शष्पं गौरीगुरोर्गह्वरमाविवेश ॥ II, 26.
अमुं पुरः पश्यसि देवदारुं पुत्री कृतोऽसौ वृषभध्वजेन । II. 36.

25-25*a*. *For the Vasistha Asrama in the R. V. identified with the Vasistha Asrama in Kashmir, or modern Vangath*; see Stein R. T. II, 489, which reads to the effect—"Our survey has already taken us to the sacred sites of Bhuteshvara. . . . high up in the valley of the sacred river Kanaka Vāhini which carries down the waters of the holy Ganga lake below the Hara-Mukuta. The village of Vangath which is the highest permanently inhabited place in this Valley, lies about two miles below the Bhuteshvara. It is named Vasistha Asrama, in the Mahatmyas and is believed to mark the residence of the Risi Vasistha. Allusions in the Rajatarangini and Nilmat show that this legendary location is of old date." The Vasistha Asrama of Kalidasa, like Vangath, is an *inhabited* place in the Himalayas, round Bhutesh (भूतेश्वर पार्श्व वर्ती) and is associated with the worship of Siva. It has nothing to do with a Vasistha Asrama at Mount Abu or at Ajodhya (see ancient Geography N. Dey) or the one that is said to be round Badarikā forest in the Himalayas (P.P. utt. Kh.,—Venk. Press).

For Vasistha Asrama also see N. M. 1323

26. For Asoka obtaining a son from Bhutesh, see, Raja Tarangini Bk. I., 107.

27-28. For the location of the birch, the devadaru and the musk-deer on the higher elevations of the Kashmirian mountains see Lawrence—valley of Kashmir chapters IV, V. Flora and Fauna. Kalidasa too locates the birch-tree, the devadaru tree, and the musk-deer on the higher altitudes of the mountain.

For the birch trees, cf.

ततो गौरीगुरुं शैलमारुरोहाश्वसाधनः । R. V. IV, 71.

भूर्जेषु मर्मरीभूता मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे ॥ R. V. IV. 73.

For the devadaru, see R. V. Vasistha asrama II. 36., (already mentioned) also see K S. Bhutapaterāspadam I, 54, (already mentioned.)

For the musk deer cf.

दृशदो वासितोत्सङ्गा निषण्णमृग नाभिभिः । R. V. IV. 74.

प्रस्थं हिमाद्रे मृगनाभिगन्धि । K. S. I. 54.

For birch-bark as a writing material, cf;

भूर्जपत्रेण सम्पादितोत्तराभवितुम् इच्छामि, भूर्जपत्रगतोऽयम् अक्षर विन्यासः, परिवर्तन विभावितात्तरं भूजपत्रं खल्वेतत् V. V. II.

न्यस्ताक्षरा धातुरसेन यत्र भूर्जत्वचःकुञ्जरबिन्दु शोणाः ।

व्रजन्तिविद्याधरसुन्दरीणामनङ्गलेखक्रियबोपयोगम् । K.S I. 7.

Historically speaking, the birch bark was used as a writing material generally in Northern India, especially in Kashmir, in ancient times. In the V. V. whose scene is laid outside Kashmir, it is not easily recognised as such by the people and is compared to a भुजङ्गनिर्मोक by Vidusaka, and with a जीर्णचीर by the queen but in the Kumara Sambhava whose scene is laid in the Himalayas—or strictly speaking in Kashmir round the Haramukuta mountain, the abode of Siva Bhutapati, the Vidyadharas fully know its use as a writing material for their love-letters. It is significant that Kalidasa can think of the birch-bark of Kashmir rather than of the palm-leaf of the South as a writing material. The murmur of the birch trees known to the ears of Kalidasa described in R. V. IV. 73; coupled with the characteristic description of the birch-bark in K.S.I. 7 and the use of birch as a garment in K. S. 1·55—भूर्जत्वचःस्पर्शवतीर्दधानाः, show our poet's personal experience with the birch and its familiar uses in its home in Kashmir.

For lakes with golden lotuses in Kalidasa, compare, for instance, the Manasa lake in Kashmir.

For caves and forests such as those of the Vasistha Asrama in the R. V., compare the original site in Kashmir : modern Vangath.

For plantation in forests, such as the Vetasa so frequently mentioned in Kalidasa वेतस गृह of Sakuntala, वेतस: कुन्ज लीलां विडम्बयति Sak. II.) it should be noted as a point of agreement with Kashmir that though Vetasa grows everywhere in marshy grounds in India, it is the *greatest* plantation in Kashmir in the Sindh division near Sopur round the Wooler lake, known as the Nangal plantation.

29. Description of the Himalayas by Kalidasa :—

अनन्तरत्न प्रभवस्य यस्य हिमं न सौभाग्यविलोपिजातम्।
एको हि दोषो गुण संनिपाते निमज्जतीन्दोः किरणेष्विवाङ्कः ॥K.S.1.3.

This is just like other Kashmirian writers who lavish in their praise of the Hamalayas; note, for example, Kalhana R. T. I. 43—

त्रैलोक्यं रत्नसूः श्लाघ्या तस्यां धनपते हरित्।
तत्र गौरी गुरोः शैलो यत् तस्मिन्नपिमण्डलम् ॥

30. Mallinath's interpretation of हिम—ननुहिम दोषदूषितस्य तस्यात्यन्त मनभिगम्यत्वात् शिवित्रिण इव सर्वमपिसौभाग्यं विफल मित्याशङ्क्य आह —as *snow* is wrong, for snow-capped mountains are praised by Kalidasa, e.g. तुषारसंघात शिला K. S. 1. 56.

31. For Hima in the sense of frost or excessive cold, see, for example, R. V. IX 28.

व्रग गुरुप्रमदा धरदुःसहं ....रविरलं विरलं कृतवान् हिमम्।

32. For destructive cold or frost in Kashmir see Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir pp. 26.

33. For excessive cold in ancient Kashmir (हिमेनशीतेनसंपीड्यमानः) and the consequent stay of people in that country for six months only हिमभीताः see N. M. 429, 465, 478, 479,

34. The Mâricha Āsrama in Sak. VII may be identified with Kashmir. We read in Sakuntala:—

मातलिः—(सबहुमानमवलोक्य) अहो उदार रमणीया पृथिवी।

राजा—मातले कतमोऽयं पूर्वापरसमुद्रावगाढः कनकरसनिस्यन्दी सांध्य इव मेघ परिघः सानुमानालोक्यते।

मातलिः—आयुष्मन् एष खलु हेम कूटो नाम किंपुरुष पर्वतस्तपःसंसिद्धिक्षेत्रम्। पश्य।

स्वायंभुवान् मरीचे यःप्रबभूवप्रजापतिः।

सुरासुरगुरुः सोऽत्र सपत्नीकस्तपस्यति ॥ १९ ॥

राजा—तेन हि अनतिक्रमणीयानि श्रेयांसि। प्रदक्षिणीकृत्य भगवन्तं गन्तुमिच्छामि।

मातलिः—प्रथमः कल्पः।

राजा—मातले कतमस्मिन् प्रदेशे मारीचाश्रमः

मातलिः—(हस्तेन दर्शयन्)

यत्रस्थाणुरिवाचलो मुनिरसावभ्यर्कबिम्बं स्थितः ॥ ११ ॥

राजा—नमस्ते कष्टतपसे

मातलिः—(संयत प्रग्रहं रथंकृत्वा) महाराज एतावददिति परिवर्धित मन्दारवृक्षं प्रजापतेराश्रमं प्रविष्टौस्वः॥

राजा—स्वर्गादधिकतरं निर्वृति स्थानम्। अमृतहृदमिवावगाढोऽस्मि॥

मातलिः—(रथं स्थापयित्वा) अवतरतु आयुष्मान्।

राजा—(अवतीर्य मातले भवान् कथमिदानीम्।

मातलिः—वयमपि अवतरामः (तथा कृत्वा) इतआयुष्मान् (परिक्रम्य)दृश्यन्तामत्रभवतां ऋषीणां तपोवनभूमयः।

राजा— ननु विस्मयादवलोकयामि।

प्राणानाम निलेनवृत्तिरुचिता सत्कल्पवृक्षेवने
तोये काञ्चनपद्मरेणुकपिशे धर्माभिषेकक्रिया।
ध्यानं रत्नशिलातलेषु विबुधस्त्रीसंनिधौसंयमो
यत्काङ्क्षन्ति तपोभिरन्य मुनयस्तस्मिंस्तपस्यन्त्यमी ॥ १२ ॥

मातलिः—उत्सर्पिणी खलुमहतां प्रार्थना—

Such is the unique description of Kashmir and its people by Kalidasa! The view of the land below is in the first instance presented from above the north as Dushyanta and Mátali descend from the Indraloka. Note how Matali is struck with admiration and deep regard—सबहुमानम् अवलोक्य when he describes the land as charming and majestic indeed! The king immediately catches the sight of a *towering* mountain which is compared to a bar of evening-cloud emitting golden fluid which may be identified with the mountain-mass of the *lofty* Haramukh peaks, regarding which Stein thus records—'Rising to close on 17,000 ft. and surrounded by glaciers of considerable size these peaks *dominate the view towards the north* from a great part of the Kashmir Valley' (R. T. II. 407) and which with the golden *Kanaka vāhini river* that flows from it (Stein R T. II 407) may very well stand the comparison noted by Kalidasa. The Hemakuta mountain emitting the golden-fluid can be no other than the Haramukuta with its perpetual snow (Lawrence p. 14) out of which flows the golden Kanaka Vâhini—also compare N. M:—

तस्माद्देशात् तथायाति दक्षिणेनमहानदी ।
हिरण्यभाम्भसा पूर्णा नाम्ना कनकवाहिनी ॥ (1316)

Thus the phrase कनकरसनिस्यन्दी suggests the *flow* of the golden waters—Kanaka *rasa*, or the Kanaka vāhini river out of the Haramakuta mountain—otherwise it is difficult to explain the word—निस्यन्दी in the line. The Hemakuta is described as तपः संसिद्धि क्षेत्रम्, similarly the Haramukuta mountain is noted, according to the Kashmirian tradition, as a place of attainment of perfection in spiritual penances performed by Nandi, by whose strong devotion Siva was drawn to the Haramukuta mountain (vide N. M. 1231 sq; H. C. C. in our note 176.)

Round about this mountain is pointed out the residence of Kashyapa, who is described as the Surā-Sura-Guru. Tradition in Kashmir, believes Kashyapa as such, as well as the Father of Kashmir; compare; N. M.

कः प्रजापतिरुद्दिष्टः कश्यपश्च प्रजापतिः ।
तेनासौ निर्मितो देशः कश्मीराख्यो भविष्यति ॥
कश्यपेन तदन्तः स्थं घातयित्वा जलोद्भवम् ।
निर्ममे तत्सरोभूमौ कश्मीरा इति मण्डलम् ॥
तत्र दक्षो ददौ कन्याः कश्यपाय त्रयोदश ।
मारीचाय समाधत्स्व श्रोतुं नामानि भूपते ॥
अदितेस्तनया देवा दितेर्दैत्यास्तथैव च ।

The Kashmirian Bilhana addresses Kashyapa, the Father of Kashmir, as 'Suraguru', in description of Kashmir, Vikramanka-Deva charit XVIII 4.

उत्तुङ्गानां मणिगृहभुवां यत्रवातायनेषु
व्याख्याभिख्या प्रणयिनि जगद्दुर्लभेसूरिचक्रे ।
देवाः प्रोद्यद्विपुलपुलकाः किं न वर्षन्तिपुष्पै
र्नाशङ्कन्ते यदि सुरगुरोस्तत्रवैलक्ष्यदीक्षाम् ॥

Also cf. R. T. I. 41.

The king can not forego paying his respects to the sacred land of Kashyapa. It will do him good. The exact site of the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir is further denoted by the symbolic representation of sunworship for which Kashmir appears to have been noted in the past (see pp. 25). The Nilmat history of Kashmir, makes a special mention of the site of the Sun established by Kashyapa himself known as the कश्यपस्वामि मार्तण्ड (vide N. M. 1189). The Apsaras tirtha, whence Menaka comes to take away Sakuntala to leave her in charge of Dakshyani, wife of Māricha or Kashyapa, (अप्सरस्तीर्थावतरणात् शकुन्तला मादाय मेनका दाक्षायणी मुपगता Sak. VII) is situated on this Haramukuta mountain, (see N. M. 1254 sq.) between the Mundaprastha (which was curbed by Siva, see, pp. 42 note. 179) and

the Brahma Saras on the Haramukuta (see note 22). Thus the Māricha Asrama of Sakuntala situated *below* the Apsaras—Tirtha can be no other than the Valley of Kashmir below the Haramukuta whih includes the Apsaras tirtha.

The king and the Matali alight from the car and the king narrates his experience as he enters the Valley which is aptly compared to a *lake*. The Kashmirian tradition also believes in the lacustrine origin of Kashmir, compare,

यैषा देवी उमासैव कश्मीरा नृपसत्तम ।
आसीत् सरःपूर्णंजल सुरम्यं सुमनोहरम् ॥ N. M. 31.

also see R. T. I. 25, 26, 27. (Appendix b).

At the supreme beauty of the country, the king is full of surprise—**ननुविस्मयादवलोकयामि** (Remember **तत्खलुरमणीयंयद्भवतोऽपिविस्मयमुत्पादयति**) Next follows the description of Kashmir in verse No. 12. which has a ring of patriotism about it and which sums up the delights of Kashmir which cannot be erased from the heart of Kalidasa—we know the instinct of love for his native-place is so strong in Kalidasa, cf. R. V. XIII, 63—

सेयं मदीया जननीव तेन मान्येन राज्ञा सरयूर्वियुक्ता ।
दूरे वसन्तं शिशिरानिलैर्मां तरंगहस्तै रुपगूहतीव ॥

Matali winds up the description of Kashmir by words of highest praise for the inhabitants of Kashmir. This shows our poet's "natural bias" for Kashmir and the Kashmiris. Thus to a clever eye the subtle hand of Kalidasa is noticeable throughout the above scene, which can hardly be accounted for except on supposition that our poet's *home* is in Kashmir which as mentioned in the Sakuntala is also noted by the Nilmat as full of *Tapo Bhumayah* and whose patriotic description in Sak. VII 12. (supra et sq.) resembles that of N.M. 32 sq; also cf; Bilhana's description of Kashmir appendix (c).

34 (*a*) I consider the story of Sakuntala in the Mahabharata original as far as the source of the play of Kalidasa, as given in the Mahabharata, is concerned. Surely the story of Dushyanta in the Mahabharata can not be said to be the oldest, for reference to Dushyanta and his family, however meagre—that is at variance with the Mahabharata: is found in an ancient work, namely the Satapatha Brahmana, according to which Sakuntala gave birth to Bharata at Nāda pit—a site unknown to the Mahabharata or its followers, and not round the Malini river as given in the Mahabharata. According to the Mahabharata, Bharata was born in the hermitage of Kanva, situated on the bank of the Malini. Kalidasa has the version of the Mahabharata before him when he lays the Asrama of Kanva on the bank of the Malini—though his Malini may be quite different from the Malini of the Maha-

bharata (*vide* note 41, 41 (*a*), 58.) References to Dushyanta, Sakuntala and Bharata are also found in various Puranas such as the Bhāgawat, the Garuda, the Visnu, and the Harivansa, all of which follow the Mahabharata and send Sakuntala with her son to Dushyanta—as the common argument of the ownership of the son aptly shows...माता भस्त्रा ; like the MBH. they save the critical situation by the aid of the 'Heavenly Voice' —दुष्यन्तं प्रति राजानंवागु वाचागरीर्ि.णी. (H.V.) But versions of the Padma purana vary, some do not have the story, others follow the Mahabharata or its improved version as given by Kalidasa.

Mr. Haradatta Sarma in his work Padma Purana and Kalidasa points to the effect that the curse of Durvasā appears (evidently in the story of Sakuntala) in the Visnu Purana (IV-19). But the statement is wrong and misleading. The curse of Durvasa appears in the Purana in connection with a separate story of Indra who receives imprecations of *angry* Durvasa who felt insulted at Indra's behaviour. Indra was cursed to be perished; and the curse was not modified even at Indra's request. This curse has nothing to do with the incidents of memory, forgetfulness and recognition so *characteristic* of the curse in the Drama of Sakuntala. No doubt, the curse and the ring both appear in the Padma-purana, none of which appears in the Mahabharata. Mr. Sarma points out that the ring first appears in the Buddhist Jataka of Brahmadatta, from which it passed on to the Padma Purana which served as the source of the drama of Kalidasa. But Mr. Sarma seems to forget that the ring in the Jataka has not the potency of restoring king's memory—that is the essential virtue of it in the Padma purana or in Kalidasa. Far from getting recognition, the King in the Jataka refuses the ownership of the ring when it is presented to him by the woman whom he betrayed—'Nor is this my signet-ring.' The Jataka-ring has got nothing to do with the mnemonic-ring of the Padma Purana or of Kalidasa. Besides this Mr. Sarma ought to know that there is nothing extraordinary about the idea of ring as a souvenir that it required the support of a *literary* tradition on the part of Kalidasa to introduce it in his drama—it is such a universal and popular human convention. Similarly incident of 'curse' in life, forms a part of common belief with mankind—Cassandra had the gift of foreseeing things but she had the 'curse of gods' on her head, that nobody should believe her—we have in our own literature numerous curses of gods, Rishis and the pious Brahmins. The Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat, in which Kalidasa was brought up, gives a record of Durvasa's curse which changed the face of the country of Kashmir by transforming land into water (N. M. 1140 sq.) Thus there is no difficulty in supposing that Kalidasa could easily manufacture his ring and the curse without going to the Padmapurana, or any other authority—the ring and the curse that

Kalidasa invented should be of a *superior* make and a *special* design! But the Padma purana has also its curse and the ring. So, the practical question is, who introduced these elements of common faith and practice namely the curse and the ring in the story of Sakuntala—who had the *genius* and *purpose* to execute it—the author of the Padma purana or of that immortal drama of Sakuntala?

Now the ring of recognition is a mere corollary to the curse for it can only follow the modification of the curse. The question therefore is, who spun the thread of curse in the story of Sakuntala, which brought the catastrophe—a rhapsodist or a dramatist?

Let us enquire. Now we must remember that the Mahabharata can not be supposed to borrow from the Padma purana—whether it is the Bengali version or the one that is published at Anandasramapress Poona, as they substantially agree; (the Bengali version of the Padma purana may be no more genuine than the other for it may have kept old arrangement of parts, but added new material to them)—the story of Sakuntala after the advanced stage it had reached in the Padma purana, and divest it of the incidents of curse and the ring. The Padma purana on the other hand borrows about a hundred verses from the Mahabharata—whose *simple* version of the story even in its present form must be earlier than the more *advanced* version of the story in the Padma Purana; it agrees with the Mahabharata in extracting the promise from Dushyanta that his son from Sakuntala should be his successor. Thus the author of the Padma Purana has the version of the Mahabharata before him. Now as we have mentioned above Kalidasa has the version of the Mahabharata before him when he lays the Asrama of Kanva on the bank of the river Malini as given in the Mahabharata, Adi Parva (vide note 41a, 58) Thus the Mahabharata is the common source of the two writers, namely, the author of the Padma Purana and Kalidasa. Now the question is between the works of these two writers, which agree so closely with each other in names of characters—**प्रियंवदा, गौतमी, शारङ्गरव, शारद्वत,** in points of language and thought—**न हन्तव्यः** (P. P.) (**न हन्तव्यो न हन्तव्यः** Sak.) **शापेनास्तमितस्मृतिः** (P. P.) (**शापव्यवहितस्मृतिः** Sak.)

परिपत्य यथा सूनुर्धरणीरेणुलुठितः ।
पितुराश्लिष्यतेऽङ्गानि किमस्त्यस्याधिकं ततः ॥ (P. P.)

अङ्काश्रय प्रणयिनस्तनयान् वहन्तो ।
धन्यास्तदङ्गरजसा मलिनीभवन्ति ॥ (Sak. VI.17.) and in incidents such as those of the curse and the ring—which of the two is original the Padma Purana or the Drama of Kalidasa? We do not know of any ancient version of the story of Sakuntala with

the curse and the ring that could have served a common source to both the Padma Purana and Kalidasa.

Now it appears to me that the author of the Padma Purana not only borrows verses and expressions from the Mahabharata and the Gita too (cf.)

यद् यातं तद् गतं राजन् नानुशोचन्ति पण्डिताः (P.P.)

गतासूनगतासूंश्च नानुशोचन्तिपण्डिताः (Gita)

but he is also a close student of Kalidasa from whose various works he draws so freely—cf.

अथ तस्यास्तदा गर्भो राजर्षेस्तेजसा भृतः ।
शशीव विशदे पक्षे वर्धतेस्म दिने दिने ॥ (P. P.)

दिने दिने सा परिवर्धमाना लब्धोदया चान्द्रमसीवलेखा।
पुपोष लावण्यमयान् विशेषान्, ज्योत्स्नान्तराणीवकलान्तराणि ॥

again (Kumara Sambhava 1-25)

अतऊर्ध्वं मयादत्तं पानीयंविविधानि च ।
पास्यन्ति पितरः कोष्णा निश्वासेन मलीमसम् ॥ (P. P.)

मत्परं दुर्लभं मत्वा नूनमावर्जितं मया ।
पयः पूर्वैःस्वनिश्वासैः कवोष्णमुपभुज्यते ॥ (Raghuvansa I, 69.)

and again शापेनास्तमितस्मृतिः (P. P.) शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा (Meghaduta 1.)

But Mr. Sarma may point out that it may be argued the other way round, Kalidasa in his various works such as the Kumara Sambhava, the Raghuvansa, the Meghaduta and the Sakuntala may have borrowed *names*, *thoughts*, and expressions of *language* from the *beautiful* Padma Purana. Now our answer is, that if Kalidasa draws on Padma Purana for names of such minor characters as प्रियंवदा, शाङ्गरव, शारद्वत etc; how is it that he fails to mention the *famous* and *fatal* Saraswati in whose waters, according to the Padma Purana, Sakuntala took her bath and lost her ring; how is it that Kalidasa substitutes the *obscure* Sachi Tirtha alongside the Sakravatara for the *popular* and sacred Saraswati. But it may be pointed out that the argument cuts both ways—how it will be asked, will you explain the substitution of the Saraswati by the author of the Padma Purana for the Sachi Tirtha of Kalidasa if the former borrowed names from the latter's work. Our answer is definite and clear. The non-Kashmirian author of the Padma Purana is not familiar with the sites in Kashmir as mentioned by Kalidasa, a native of Kashmir, so he proposes a *substitute*—wherever it is necessary, as in the case of the tragic incident of the ring—that is popular and well-known. Thus the *sacred* Sachi Tirtha in Kashmir (*vide* page 16, note 51.) where

Sakuntala on her way to her husband's house halted for salutions—(शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानया Sak.) and lost her ring is substituted by the non-Kashmirian writer of the Padma Purana by another *sacred* name, the Saraswati, that sounds a more intelligible name and place to his audience namely the Srotās of the Purana.

Similarly the author of the Padma Purana who is not aware of the Soma Tirtha in Kashmir (*vide* page 16 also note 52) omits it and as he can not follow Kalidasa in taking Kanva to a place unknown and meaningless to him, he falls back upon the version of the Mahabharata and sends Kanva away—not far off; only to get fruits (फलाहार गतोराजन् P.P.) गतः...... फलान्या हर्तुम् M.B.A.) at the time of Dushyanta's arrival in the hermitage.

Again, the Apsaras Tirtha (*vide* page 17 note 34, 53) a site in Kashmir, whence Menakā comes to take away her daughter, in the Drama of Kalidasa, is omitted by the non-Kashmirian author of the Padma Purana, as the site is not knwn to him. But we shall presently see that this omission has heavily told upon the structure of the story in the Padma Purana. In the Drama of Kalidasa, Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir (*vide* page 10, note 34.) is not ushered in by mere accident as it is in the Padma Purana—in the drama it is bound to come for the scene of union with Sakuntala who was brought to the Apsaras Tirtha that is in Kashmir. (See note 34.) But in the Padma Purana, the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir occupies no legitimate place—Sakuntala if she was not taken to the Apsaras Tirtha in Kashmir, could as well be found in the Indra—loka, where the Apsaras such as Menaka and others are said to live, and where Dushyanta had gone to defeat the enemies of Indra—indeed it would have been quite proper if Indra himself had presented Sakuntala to Dushyanta who had come out victorious in battle, and thus pleased him. But the Padma Purana here blindly follows Kalidasa. It omits the Apsaras Tirtha which could create a necessity, as in the drama of Kalidasa, for the introduction of the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir (that included the Apsaras Tirtha) for the union of Dushyanta and Sakuntala, and mentions the Kashyapa Asrama. Thus the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir without the previous mention of the Apsaras Tirtha has no relevancy in the Padma Purana—it hangs about and can easily be detected as a stolen property not properly adjusted in the house.

This is how the Padma Purana deals with the Kashmirian sites in the drama of Kalidasa, that are unintellegible to him—he meets them by omission as in the case of the Soma Tirtha, and the Apsaras Tirtha; by substitution as in the case of the Sachi Tirtha by the well—known Sarasvati; or by meaningless imitation as in the case of a comparatively

well-known place, the Kashyapa Asrama or Kashmir. This will show that the author of the Sakuntala-episode in the Padma Purana though not totally unaware of the country of Kashmir—which is impossible; is ignorant with its minor tirthas of local fame only—such as the Sachi, the Sakra, the Apsaras Tirtha etc, known to Kalidasa and to the Kashmirian tradition in the Nilmat. No doubt, allusions to Kashmir and its *important* tirthas of universal reputation in India occur in the Mahabharata as well as the various puranas—they are bound to occur in many other works. But the point is whether Kalidasa draws his information regarding Kashmir from these outside works or from his *personal* experience at home in Kashmir. We believe in the latter. For example, Yaksha occurs in the Mahabharata but does he bear the same typical character of a Kashmirian Yaksha as in Kalidasa? Surely not! Similarly the Uttara Khanda of the Padma Purana (Venkateshvara Press) mentions the Kashyapa-Asrama, Vasistha Asrama, Bhuteshvara and Soma Tirtha in the list of Tirthas; but Kalidasa cannot be said to borrow from this—for his affectionate description of Kashmir appears to be based on personal relationship (see pp. 10, 11) his Vasistha Asrama and the Bhutesh are closely situated as they are in Kashmir (see pp. 9) which is not the case in the Purana; his Soma Tirtha—which is indefinite in the Purana, for there are many Soma Tirthas (see note 52), is presumably in Kashmir, which, Kanva of the family of *Kashyapa* visits to avert the calamity of Sakuntala in the very first Act,—as an anxious father to make possible arrangements for her future stay in Kashmir; and a replying message to which visit is sent by Kashyapa to Kanva, from Kashmir, in the last Act when everything has settled peacefully (कण्वाय प्रियं आवेदय...) and to which country of Kashmir, Kalidasa leads us for all his other sites in Sakuntala, such as the Sachi Tirtha, the Sakra-avatar, the Apsaras Tirtha, the Haramukuta (see note 34) and the Kashyapa Asrama. But supposing the author of the Uttara Khanda of the Padma Purana knew the sites as existing in Kashmir; how shall we defend the position that the author of the Sakuntala or the Raghuvansa-episode in the Padma Purana was not aware of them. Our answer is simple; they are not the works of the same author and the proof of it is this:—The author of the Sakuntala or the Raghuvansa-episode in the Padma Purana, who is evidently the same person, as he draws on the works of Kalidasa, locates the Vasistha Asrama onstide the limits of the Himalayas where the cow of Vasistha happened to enter one day—

व्रतदद्दाढ्यं परीक्षन्ती प्रविवेश हिमालयम्

but the author of the Uttara Khanda (P.P.) locates the Vasistha Asrama round the Badarika Asrama in the Himalayas.

बदरीणां वनंगच्छेत् वसिष्ठस्याश्रमंततः ।

None of the two works, however, refers to the Vasistha Asrama of Kalidasa in Kashmir—(for many Vasistha Asramas see note 24.)

The Sachi Tirtha and the Apsaras Tirtha—that play an important part in the development and the structure of the drama, known to Kalidasa and unknown to these and other none-Kashmirian writers furnish us with a test case which proves that Kalidasa was a Kashmirian who knew the sites at his home in Kashmir and referred to them in his works, the Sakuntala and the Raghuvansa, which were summarized by the author of the Padma Purana and thus deprived of their Kashmirian setting. Thus the Padma Purana is the borrower and not Kalidasa.

Again it would be wrong to suppose that Kalidasa borrowed the idea of curse from the Padma Purana, for it must be remembered that curse as a *deterrant* force in the union of two lovers is already known to Kalidasa in all his works. In the Meghaduta, the curse stands in the way of union of the Yaksha and the Yakshi (vide pp. 38 note 166*a*) in the Vikrama Urvasi, the curse separates Urvasi from Vikrama (vide pp. 39 note 167) in the Mālavikaagnimitra the Siddhādesha amounts to a curse of separation (vide pp 38 note 165); so is it in the Sakuntala that the curse debars the union of the two lovers and helps the development of the plot. The curse in Sakuntala serves a still greater purpose for Kalidasa. It improves the character of his hero and saves him from the calumny to which he is open in the Mahabharata. We quite expected it from Kalidasa whose aim in character-drawing is towards perfection but who can claim such a purpose for the author of the Padma Purana, who, provided he is the same man, is not ashamed to make the conjugal union of Sri Krishna possible with Arjuna *as woman?* Thus there is no reason why Kalidasa who is already familiar with the idea of curse in his other works should not introduce it in the Sakuntala where it is best needed—Kalidasa can make decent departures from the original sources from which he draws as in the case of the distant journey of Kanva to Soma Tirtha in Kashmir not found in the MBH; or the Padma Purana either. Now 'curse' with Kalidasa serves not only a dramatic *purpose* but it also stands for a philosophical truth in all his works (vide pp. 28 sq. also note 150, 159, 165--167) and illustrates the Pratyabhijna doctrine of memory forgetfulness, and recognition of soul's power. Similarly, the ring of recognition that follows the curse of forgetfulness, as ones own 'pratyaya' has a philosophical bearing in Kalidasa and is Kalidas' own invention in the drama. The association of the 'philosophical' curse with the *particular* sage, Durvāsā, will be understood further if we remembered that according to the traditions of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir —whose doctrines the vital incident of the *curse* of *Durvasa* in

the drama illustrates; Lord Siva ordained *Durvasa* to propagate the philosophy in the world, who did accordingly. (see note 126). Thus the curse and the ring both serve a dramatic and a philosophic purpose in Kalidasa—both of which are wanting in the imitation-work, the Padma Purana. Thus the curse, and the ring that follows the curse, may be our poet's own invention in the drama, as the incident of curse is in his other works. The curse and the ring of Kalidasa lose all their philosophic import in the Padma Purana which merely copies them as ordinary curse and the ring, devoid of their philosophic meaning. The ring of recognition or the अभिज्ञानाभरण of Kalidasa is reduced to a mere अङ्गुलीयकम् and the philosophic curse of Kalidasa though superfically associated with memory is not properly understood in all its implications as is borne out by the substitution of the phrase शापेनास्तमितस्मृतिः (P. P.) for शाप व्यवहितस्मृतिः (Sak.) According to Kalidasa, in keeping with the Pratyabhijna philosophy, the power of memory belonging to soul does not vanish away or disappear altogether—only between the soul and its power of memory there lies the *Vyavadhana* of शाप or 'philosophical' necessity (vide note 150). But the author of the Padma Purana who is not aware of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir makes a mess of the whole thing by substituting अस्तमित for व्यवहित in the phrase शापेनास्तमितस्मृति—which would mean that the power of memory is destroyed by curse—which would be absurd; for having once ceased to exist, memory could not be revived; and recognition the main purpose of the story, could not be achieved. The author of the Padma Purana who is ignorant with the Pratyabhijna philosophy, in his desire to appear as original story-teller, taps another source and borrows phrase from the Meghaduta of Kalidasa—शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा, but great admirer of Kalidasa as he is, he forgets that the word अस्तमित may be quite appropriate with महिमा but it can not stand in the context with स्मृति or memory.

Again the Padma Purana blindly follows Kalidasa in sending to Dushyanta, Sakuntala big with child, and not with a son born at her father's house as in the Mahabharata. The Bhagawat Purana (IX), the Harivansa, the commentators of the Visnu and the other puranas, all follow the Mahabharata and send Sakuntala to Dushyanta after the birth of her son at the Kanva's Asrama. There is no reason for such a departure in the *single* Padma Purana.

But in the drama of Kalidasa, which departs from the Mahabharata in this instance, the change is significant: for it presents the story of Sakuntala in the light of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, which is the whole object of Kalidasa. Thus Sakuntala, or in terms of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, Sakti, who was 'let out' to create the universe or the objective reality could not withdraw herself into the subjective state

of union with Siva (Dushyanta) unless she had delivered herself of the charge of creation (see pp. 28 sqq.) Thus Sakuntala was rejected and the rejection further aided the development of the plot, but if Sakuntala had already delivered herself of the son— or if the fruit of creation namely *experience* were already gained; then in the light of the Pratyabhijna, necessity (शाप) for 'Separation' would have come to an end, and thus there would have been no room for rejection of Sakuntala when she was presented to the King. The interest of the drama would have ended before the last Act and the drama of life on earth would have come to a close without achieving its chief object namely *recognition through experience.* Thus the Padma Purana imitates Kalidasa without understanding his Kashmirian philosophy. It would be dangerous therefore to argue the sources of the works of Kalidasa from the *supposed* antiquity of the Puranas—that go on adding new material as time goes on—and their *doubtful* authorship :—

पुराणमित्येव न साधु सर्वम् ॥

Indeed, the Padma Purana (with its Sakuntala and the Raghu vansa episode) appears to be very late in origin. I may suggest that the *popular* convention of search for water while hunting, and the drink offered by a girl and marriage with her, as in the Padma Purana episode of Sakuntala— तोयमन्वेषयन् , smacks of a very late origin, and the mention of an arrow-shot at sound—as in the Padma Purana version of Sakuntala शरं शब्दभेदिनम्; so popular in the early days of Rajput chivalry, does not speak of a very old date for the Purana. However, one thing is certain that the author of Padma Purana who included the story of Sakuntala in the purana (in some copies of the Padma Purana, the story is altogether missing) lived after Kalidasa, as he borrows expression from his works such as the Kumara Sambhava, the Raghuvansa and the Meghaduta as already pointed out. Indeed, the Padma Purana follows the Raghuvansa in its outline of the story of Rama, and not the Ramayana, imitates its *language* (cf. description of Dilipa in Raghuvansa

व्यूढोरस्कोवृषस्कन्धः शालप्रांशुर्महाभुजः (R. V. I.)

with its महोरस्को महाप्राणो । महास्कन्धो महाभुजः P. P.);

substitutes प्राप्तकालां (P.P.) for the significant

प्रदिष्टकालां of the famous Nikumbha legend R.V. 39 (see pp.13 sqq.),

and शस्त्रैर्विनयच्छक्यं अकीर्त्यैर्धन्विनां न तत्

for शस्त्रेण रक्ष्यं यद् शक्य रक्ष्यं

न तद्यशः शस्त्रभृतां क्षिणोति ॥ (R. V. II. 40.);

omits the names known to Kashmirian legends only— such as the Nikumbha (vide pp. 13 sqq) without whose reference mention of Kumbhodara in the Pama purana loses all its force of associations; and places the Kashmirian Vasistha

Asrama of the Raghuvansa (see pp. 9) outside the Himalayas —व्रतंदार्ढ्यं परीक्षन्ती प्रविवेश हिमालयम्, which is wrong and proves the imitative character of the version of the Padma Purana. Thus the Padma Purana furnishes a close summary of the Raghuvansa and the Drama of Sakuntaka in points of names of characters, expressions of thought and language, and incidents; and does not form a source of the drama of Sakuntala. The Padma Purana is an imitation of a great poet's work by a versifier or a story-teller who has before him the versions of the Mahabharata and of Kalidasa and who uses his option to follow the one or the other as it suits him or his audience best.

But I should like to point out that my theorey of the birth-place of Kalidasa in Kashmir is not in the least vitiated even if it be proved that the Padma Purana and not the Mahabharata formed a source of the drāma of Kalidasa. On the contrary it would affirm my position for the substitution of the Sachi Tirtha of Kashmir (see pp. 16) in place of the *famous* Saraswati would create a bias in favour of Kalidasa being a native of Kashmir. Mention of the local and minor Apsaras Tirtha—its *exact* location (see note 34); and the Soma Tirtha of Kashmir will also be a proof in the same direction. And in that case, it will be understood, that the curse and the ring mentioned by the Padma or any *purana* or *jataka*, in their *ordinary* sense, are in Kalidasa invested with the meaning of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, which is our main ground of our poets' birth-place in Kashmir.

Thus my argument in favour of the birth-place of Kalidasa in Kashmir remains unaffected in either case, though I strongly believe, on grounds mentioned above, that the Padma Purana has drawn upon the Raghuvansa and the Sakuntala of Kalidasa for its narration of the stories, as the author of the Siva Purana has drawn upon his other famous work the Kumara Sambhava.

35. For *special* mention and *regard* of Kashyapa performing penances in Sakuntala see; Sak. VII. 9,27,30. The Kashmirian tradition in the N. M. refers to a site in Kashmir where Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir, is said to perform his penances (N. M. 234) For Kashyapa's locality—कश्यपागार in the Raja Tarangini see R. T. VIII 3357.

36. Valmiki in Raghuvansa, takes Sita, when she is deserted by her husband to his own Asrama, as if under her own father's roof :--

जाने विसृष्टां प्रणिधानतस्त्वां मिथ्यापवादक्षुभितेन भर्त्रा ।
तन्मा व्यथिष्ठा विषयान्तरस्थं प्राप्तासि वैदेहि पितुर्निकेतम् ॥ R.V. XIV. 72.

37. ··· अप्सरस्तीर्थावतरणात्-शकुन्तलामादाय मेनका दाक्षायणीमुपगता ।
(Sak. VII.)

38. See Sak. V. 17.

39. For similes based on associations suggestive of the home of Kalidasa in the Himalayan country viz. Kashmir:—

Cf. prominent objects in Kashmir, the Manasa lake:—

समीरणोत्थैव तरङ्गलेखा पद्मान्तरं मानस राजहंसीम् । R.V. IV. 26.

the golden lotuses:—

वक्त्रेषुहेमाम्बुरुहोपमेषु R.S. VI 8; (K.S. II 44. etc.)

the bright herbs:—

ज्वलितेन गुहागतं तमस्तुहिनाद्रेरिवनक्तमोषधिः । R.V. VIII 54.

'Hima', snow, frost, cold, *icy-water*:—

आनन्दशीतामिववाष्पवृष्टिम्, हिम स्रुति हैमवतीं ससर्ज । (R.V.XVI 44.)

for icy-waters characteristic of Kashmir cf. Kalhana R.T.I. 42—

(सहिमं पयः ।)

तुषारसंघातनिपातशीतलाः; वायवः सान्द्रतुषारशीतलाः । R.S.V., 4.3.

The Chinese Silk:—

चीनांशुकमिवकेतोः Sak. I. 31.

चीनांशुकेन शोभितोनागराजः in Kashmir N. M. 465 sqq.

For Similes based on rice, see note, 101 infra.

39*a*. For Gandhamadan the pleasure-resort of the Kashmirian tradition cf. H. C. C. 9. 147:—

सप्तर्षिकथितार्थस्य शङ्करस्याथनाकिनः ।
सर्वाभरणसंरम्भं चक्रिरेगन्धमादने ॥

40. The associations of the Himalayas—noted for their cold, force out unconsciously in the lines—

कार्यासैकतलीन हंसमिथुना स्रोतोवहा मालिनी ।
पादास्तामभितोनिषण्ण हरिणा गौरी गुरोः पावनाः (Sak VI. 17.)

though the hermitage of Kanva in the drama is situated on the plains whose heat is unbearable (Sak. III.)

41. For the river Malini in Kashmir, see N. M., 1535, 1537.

41*a*. The original story of the Mahabharata (Adi Parva) mentions the Asrama of Kanva of Kashyapa Gotra, situated on the bank of the Malini where Menaka had left her child:—

मालिनी मभितो राजन्नदीं पुण्यां सुखोदकां ।
तस्यास्तीरे भगवता काश्यपस्य महात्मनः ।
नदीमाश्रम संबद्धां दृष्ट्वाश्रम पदं तथा ॥ ......
समुन्जिनयामास मेनकायां शकुन्तलां ।
जातमुत्सृज्य तं गर्भं मेनका मालिनीमनु ॥

Repeated mention of the term Malini here shows that it was not used as an appellative for the Bhagirathi but a *proper* name for some other river. Kalidasa draws on the Mahabharata for his Malini in the Drama (see note 34a) but his Malini may be quite different from that of the Mahabharata (see note 58).

42. नूनं ते शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरे शचीतीर्थं सलिलं वन्दमानाया Sak. V.

For the Sachi Tirtha described along with the Sakra Tirtha in Kashmir, see, N. M. 1166, 1169.

43. पयोधरैः पुण्यजनाङ्गनानां निर्विष्टहेमाम्बुजरेणुमस्याः ।
ब्राह्मं सरः कारणमाप्त वाचो बुद्धेरिवाव्यक्त मुदाहरन्ति॥ R.V.XII.60.

Unconscious retreat to Kashmir: its Yakshas and golden lotuses, probably suggested by the *Brahma Sara*, a lake on the Haramukuta mountain in Kashmir, already mentioned in note 22. Kalidasa connects the Brahma Sara with the river Sarayu, round Ayodhya, the Capital of Rama.

For Brahma Sara situated on the Haramukata Mt. in Kashmir' see, Stein's R. T. II, 408, also see, N. M. 1255,—ततो ब्रह्मसरो नाम दृष्ट्वा तीर्थं मनोहरम् ॥ Nilmat further describes the Brahma Sara as the source of a river (called रामह्रद?) and connects it with Parasu Rama—

एवं स निर्मलीभूतो रामः परबलार्दनः ॥ N. M. 1397.
नदीं संप्राप्य पुण्योदां तदा ब्रह्मसरोद्भवाम् ॥ N. M. 1398.

Yakshas living with their wives are described in the Meghaduta too, Kashmir formerly occupied by the Yakshas is noted by N. M. 72 and R. T. I, 84. The stories of Yaksha and Yakshis, as known to the Kashmirian tradition, are recorded in the Katha Sarit Sagar e. g.

(*a*) यक्षस्यालापमश्रृणोत् क्रीडतोभार्यया सह

(*b*) यक्षः पुष्पस्रजा भार्यां नर्मणा तामताडयत् ॥ Somadeva K.S.S.p.347.

For pink lotuses in Kashmir, refer to Lawrence Valley of Kashmir. The Manas lake among others noted for golden lotuses in Kashmir.

44. कृतः प्रयत्नो न च देव लब्धं मग्नं पयस्याभरणोत्तमं ते ,
नागेन लौल्यात् कुमुदेन नून मुपात्तमन्तर्ह्रदवासिना तत् ,

R. V. XVI. 76. sqq.

For Kumuda Nāga in Kashmir see N. M. 1089.

Compare the Kalidasa-conception of the Naga, residing in the अन्तर्ह्रद or lake, as serpent, fearing the Garuda weapon, offering his sister to the king—कन्यां पुरस्कृत्य भुजङ्गराजः ॥ (R. V. XVI. 76, 77, 78 sqq.) with the similar conception in the Kashmir-tradition:—For Nāgas as spring-deities in Kashmir, see, R. T. I. 29,30 they seek shelter from Garuda 30, their lake-residences 111, appear as human-faced snakes (R. T. IV. 601.) Kashmir a favourite residence of Nāgas (Stein II 367 also see pp. 13.) The Kashmirian Nāga-daughter, Chandra lekha, married to a Brahmin of Kashmir (R.T.I. 242.) Kalidas' has also the memory of Nāga damsels on the Himalayas, cf.—नागवधू पभोग्यम् K. S. I. 20.

45. Alliance between the Nāga King and King Kusha.

इत्थं नागस्त्रिभुवनगुरोरौरसं मैथिलेयं

लब्ध्वा बन्धुं तमपि च कुशः पञ्चमं तक्षकस्य ।

एकः शङ्कां पितृवधरिपोरत्यजद्वैनतेया

च्छान्तव्यालामवनिमपरः पौरकान्तः शशास ॥R.V. XVI. 88.

For Kusa, King of Kashmir, see, R. T. I. 88.

For the Takshaka Naga of Kashmir, see, Stein R. T. Vol. II. 458.

For enmity between the Nāgas and the Vainateya and their compromise, see, N. M. Ed. Zadu vv. 74—105.

46. For Dr. Buhler's summary of the Nikumbha legend in the Nilmat, see, Buhler's report on search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir PP. 40; also see, Nilmat 277, 278 sqq, 483, 488, 499-500, 675, 676, 781, 1102. For a comparative view of the legend in the Raghuvansa and the Nilmat, see below. Mention of Kumbha, *as the friend of Nikumbha*, in the line कुम्भोदरं नाम निकुम्भमित्रं suggests that Kumbhle draws his *character* and *support* from the *famous* Nikumbha. Thus a comparison may be drawn between the Nikumbha of the Nilmat and the Nikumbha of Raghuvansa, who is the real person behind the superficial Kumbha:—

Nikumbha of the Raghuvansa.	*Nikumbha of the Nilmat.*
I. A powerful brute and a pious creature. Kumbha, the prototype of Nikumbha, described as brute मृगेन्द्र: (R.V. 30), as powerful:— अलंमहीपाल तव श्रमेण......... प्रयुक्त मप्यस्त्रमितोवृथास्यात् (II 34.) and as pious— पादार्पणानुग्रहपूतपृष्ठम् अवेहिमां किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः (II 35.)	I. Ditto. Nikumbha described as a brute—पिशाच ; बालुकार्णव मध्येतु द्वीपः षड्योजनायतः, तत्रसन्ति पिशाचाये दैत्यपक्षाःसुदारुणाः (277) as powerful and pious both. तेषां तु निग्रहार्थाय पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली, निकुम्भनामा धर्मात्मा कुवेरेणतुयोजितः ॥ (278)
II. An attendant of Siva :— किंकरमष्टमूर्तेः II 35. and भूतेश्वर पार्श्ववर्ती II. 46.	II. Ditto. तस्यां विप्र चतुर्दश्यां निकुम्भः शङ्करं सदा । (675) संपूजयति धर्मात्मा सानुयात्रो महाबलः (676)
III. His mission alway Victorious. R. V. II. 36, 37; तदाप्रभृत्येव वनद्विपानां त्रासार्थमस्मिन्नहमद्रि कुक्षौ, व्यापारितः शूलभृता वधाय ! सिंहत्वमङ्कागतसत्ववृत्ति (38.)	III. Ditto. चैत्र्यांयाति सदायोद्धुं पिशाचैर्बहुभिः सह । पञ्चकोट्यःपिशाचानां निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनाम् ॥ (279) निकुम्भः पुनरायाति पञ्चकोटि वृतो बली शुक्लाश्वयुक्पञ्चदश्यां नित्यंदेवप्रसादतः ॥ (282) 'Deva Prasāda' signifying Siva's favour, whose attendant he is.

Nikumbha of the Raghuvansa (contd)

IV. His introduction on the scene by way of punishment and terror to the original *inhabitants* of the place.

अमुं पुरः पश्यसि देवदारुं
पुत्रीकृतोऽसौवृषभध्वजेन (36)
कण्डूयमानेन कटंकदाचिद्
वन्यद्विपेनोन्मथिता त्वगस्य (37)
तदाप्रभृत्येववनद्विपानांत्रासार्थं 38)

V. Fixity of time for his meals, arranged by Siva.

अङ्कागत सत्व वृत्ति (38)
तस्यालमेषा क्षुधितस्य तृप्त्यै
प्रदिष्टकाला परमेश्वरेण। (39)

Nikumbha of the Nilmat (contd.)

IV. Ditto.

तानुवाच तथाक्रुद्धः
कश्यपो वै प्रजापतिः।
ममवाक्य मनादृत्य
यस्माद्दुष्टं प्रभाषथ।
तस्मात् पिशाचैः सहिता
वसध्वं नात्र संशयः। (267 sqq.)

V.

Fixity of time for his stay (and consequently meal) in Kashmir arranged by Kashyapa, who modifies his previous statement thus—

हिमाचलेषु षण्मासान्
वसत्येष सदासुखी। (283)

During the stay of the Pisacha, with his following, for six months only in Kashmir, all men vacated the country—

अश्वयुज्यामतीतायां
निर्ययुर्मानवा बहिः 425 (sqq.)

except a Brahmin who ventured to stay during the Pisacha regime, whom the followers of Nikumbha captured, even as the *friend* of Nikumbha has captured the Cow in the Raghuvansa, that fell in his way.

(अथ निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनः··· ···)
ब्राह्मणेनपिशाचास्तु
चिक्रीडुस्तेन ते तदा।
रज्जुबद्धेन तु यथा
पक्षिणा नृप दारकाः (427)

Nikumbha of the Raghvansa (Contd.)

VI. *Possession* of the bodies of living creatures forms a characteristic feature of the friend of Nikumbha, or his followers.

—प्रसह्य सिंहः किलतांचकर्ष 27.

—निगृहीतधेनुः । 33.

VII. His adoration, and offering of '*Bali*' to him—

अन्तर्गतं प्राणभृतां हि वेद
सर्वंभवान् भावमतोऽभिधास्ये । 43.
स न्यस्तशस्त्रो हरये स्वदेहः
उपानयत् पिण्ड मिवा मिषस्य । 59.

VIII. Devotion to the cow, Surabhi, as a means of release from the grip of the friend or the followers of Nikumbha.

सुतां तदीयां सुरभेः
कृत्वा प्रतिनिधिं शुचिः ।
आराधय सपत्नीकः (I. 81.)
इमामनूनां सुरभेरवेहि II. 54.
सेयं स्वदेहार्पणनिष्क्रयेण
न्याय्या मयामोचयितुं भवत्तः II. 55.

Nikumbha of the Nilmat (Contd.)

Compare the striking metaphor of *tying with a string* though differently used by Kalidasa, in the same context in R.V. II 28.—

तदीयमाक्रन्दितं·········

रश्मिष्विवादाय नगेन्द्रसक्तां,
निवर्तयामास नृपस्य दृष्टिम् ।

Surely, Kalidasa has the traditional version of the legend, as given by the Nilmat, in his mind.

VI. Ditto.

तस्मिन्नहनिपूर्वाह्णे
निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनः
आविशन्तिनरान् सर्वान्
पिशाचा घोरदर्शनाः ॥ 499-500

VII. Ditto.

पूजा निकुम्भस्य कर्तव्या । 489.
पूजनीयो निकुम्भश्च
पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली । 677.
पिशाचानां च दातव्या
बलयश्च सुसंस्कृताः । 678.

VIII. Ditto.

अश्वयुज्यां निकुम्भस्तु
नित्यमायाति कश्यप । 483.
पूजार्थं तस्य कर्त्तव्या
कौमुदीं तां निबोधत । 484
पूजनीया च सुरभिः
गोमद्भिः पुरुषैस्तथा ।490.
निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनः·········
आविशन्ति नरान् (499, 500,)
यश्च एवं कुरुते तस्य तदातनुं त्यक्त्वा
गच्छन्ति·········(500)

47. For Martand or the sun associated with Kashyapa (see N. M. 1189.

48. For numerous sites sacred to Kuvera in Kashmir see N. M. Ed. Zadu Appendix E. P. 15, also our (N. M.—1198).
For appellation of 'Bhawan' given to sacred sites in Kashmir (see Stein, R. T. II, 339. 340 with note on Martand or Matsya Bhawan.

49. For Hiranyapura—modern Ranyil, in Kashmir, see, Stein R.T. II. 456, which reads—

At the south foot of the ridge which descends to the opening of the Sindh Valley, we find the village of Ranyil, the ancient Hiranyapura...It seems to have been once a place of importance since its figures in a fairy tale of the Katha Sarit Sagara as the capital of Kashmir. A spring, a little to the south of the village, is visited by the pilgrims to the Haramukuta Gangā, also see, K. S. S. p. 345:—

अस्तीह हिमवत् कुक्षौ देशः पृथ्वी शिरोमणिः ।
कश्मीर इति विद्यानां धर्मस्य च निकेतनम् ॥ 214
तत्राधिष्ठानमभवद् हिरण्यपुरनामकम् ।
कनकाक्ष इति ख्यातस्तस्मिन् राजा बभूव च ॥ 215

50. For tradition of elopement of women by demons in Kashmir, see, for example, the famous legend of Sadangula Nāga in N. M. 1134—

मनुष्याणां स दारांश्च हरत्य हरहः पुरः ।

50 a b & c. For the Darad country, see, Stein R. T. VIII 2509—13n. as the abode of Pisachas or demons, see, Grierson's 'Pisacha-languages'.

51. For Sachi Tirtha and Sakravatara (Sak.) see N. M. 1166, 1169. The Ganga of the Sachi Tirtha must be a Kashmir Ganga—

शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्ताद्गङ्गास्रोतसि परिभ्रष्टं Sak. VI.

52. For Soma Tirtha, a place of pilgrimage in Kashmir, a site sacred to Siva, where Kalidasa, a Saivite, as usual, takes us, see N. M. 1567, 1566; H.C.C. pp. 106 v 259 (Soma Tirtha near Vijayeshvara?) Kalhana R.T; VIII. 3360 (modern Somayar in Srinagar) Stein R. T. II. 450; Soma Tirtha of Kalidasa is in Kashmir, (for reasons, see, note 34a) and not Prabhāsa in Kathiawara, or one round Kurukshetra (N. L. Dey; P.P.)

53. For the Apsaras Tirtha in Kashmir, see, N. M. 1254 supra et sqq:—

अप्सरोभिर्युतोयत्र तीर्थमप्सरसां हितत् ॥
तीर्थमप्सरसां पुण्यं ब्रह्मणः परमेष्ठिनः ॥ 1460

For its exact location on the high mountains of Kashmir and its important mention in the Drama of Sakuntala, see, note 34a.

54. For Sapta Risi tirtha, see, N. M. 1467—

तीर्थं सप्तऋषं नाम सर्वकाम फलप्रदम् ।

55. For Brahma Sara (R. V. 1360), see N. M. 1225, 1397-98 also see, for its exact site, Stein R. T. II-408.

56. For the Kumuda Nāga (R. V. XVI-76), see N. M. 1089.

57. For the Gauri Sikhara (K. S. V, 7) compare N. M. 1448, 49.

Kumara Sambhava.	*Nilmat.*
(*a*) Its lakes निनाय सात्यन्तहिमोत्किरानिलाः सहस्यरात्रीरुदवास तत्परा K.S.V.26.	(*a*) Its lakes रजाविनिर्मलं प्राप्य स्नात्वा मुच्येत किल्बिषैः 1447. तस्यां देवीउमास्नात्वाप्रथमंतुरजोवती । दृष्ट्वा च गौरीशिखरं चन्द्रलोकमवाप्नुयात् 1448
(*b*) Lotus-like face, change in complexion, due to penances, a contrast. तथातितप्तंसवितुर्गभस्तिभि- र्मुखंतदीयं कमलश्रियंदधौ । अपाङ्गयोः केवलमस्यदीर्घयोः शनैःशनैः श्यामिकया कृतं पदम् ॥ K. S. 5. 21.	(*b*) Ditto पूर्वमासीदुमाराजन् नीलोत्पल समप्रभा । सोतत्र तपसा लेभे गौरवर्णमनोहरम् ॥ 1449

The Siva Purana story of Kumara's birth, mentioning the Gauri Sikhara, is based on the Kumara Sambhava of Kalidasa and is a close summary of it (see, note 117).

58. The Mālini in the original story of the Mahabharatta appears to be a river of the plains within the range of Dushyanta's hunting-ground that is not a mountainous region (see MBH. Adi Parva) and is not associated with the *Himalayas* as in the Drama of Kalidasa (Sak. VI 7). According to some, Malini denotes the (Payasvini) Paisuni of the Chitrakuta, running in the vicinity of Hastanapura, (the capital of Dushyanta), (Kale's Sak.); according to others, it is a branch of the Sarayu river

fifty miles above Ayodhya, the Erineses of Megasthenes etc. (N. L. Dey's Ancient Geog.) But the Malini of Kalidasa is a river of the Himalayas, it can not denote any of these rivers, possibly denoted by the Mālini of the Mahabharata. The Mālini of Kalidasa being a *proper* name (see pp. 12) does not denote the Gangā either. It may therefore denote the Mālini in Kashmir for which, see, N. M. 1535, 1537.

59. *The Sindhu*—विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनःस्कन्धाँल्लग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् ॥

For Sindhu as the Krsna gangā in Kashmir, see, Stein R. T. note on VIII 2507,...which reads,—'Sindhu', 'the river' as a designation of the Krsna Ganga is found not only in VIII 2492, but also used generally in the Sāradā Māhātmya..by the side of Krsna Ganga. This designation is evidently taken from the mouth of the people who as I ascertained on my visit to the Sarada Tirtha know the river only as the Sind i. e. 'the river."

60. For larger cultivation of saffron in ancient Kashmir, see, Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir, p. 343:—'No one has ever confirmed the statement that the soil of the saffron fields was dug up from the Jhelum river, whereas many attest the fact that saffron has been grown on other Karewas.' Even Abul Fazl in his times notes in the Ain Akbari—'There are 10,000 or 12,000 bighas of land covered with saffron which afford a prospect that would enchant those who are most difficult to please'.

61. *For the route from the west into Kashmir,* see, Stein R.T. II. 361—'The easiest route to Kashmir from the *West* leads through the central portion of Hazara....across the Krishna Ganga ....to Muzzafarabad;'....also, see, Ibid, Bk. V. 217*n*:—'The route has always been considered the easiest line of communication between Kashmir and the regions to the *West.* It may therefore safely be assumed to have been used also by the Kashmir army on its return from *the Indus*'. 'The direct route from Kashmir into Hazara at present crosses the Krsna Ganga river above its junction with the Vitastā at Muzaffarabad'; also cf. Ibid BK. VII 586*n*.

61 *a* मन्दाकिन्याः सलिलशिशिरैः सेव्यमानामरुद्भि–
मन्दाराणामनुतटरुहां छाययावारितोष्णाः ।
अन्वेष्टव्यैः कनकसिकतामुष्टिनिक्षेपगूढैः
संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरैः प्रार्थिता यत्र कन्याः॥ M.D.U. 4.

The Mandakini with its gold may be identified with the Kashmirian Krsna Gangā. For gold of the Krsna Ganga, see, Stein, R. T. II. 287—The notice of gold being found in

the river clearly applies to the Krishna Ganga which drains mountain-region known as auriferous to the present day, cf. for the gold-dust of Krishna Ganga, Bates Gazetteer p. 19; for washing of gold, in the Krishna Ganga Valley, see, Jona Raja's Rajatrangini vv. 885 sqq. But the Mandakini in the above verse denotes the popular Kashmir Ganga that flows past the home of Kalidasa (see note 66). The associations of gold with the Mandakini or Krishna Ganga of Kashmir are lurking in the mind of Kalidasa which come out in the *idealized* description of his home and the Mandakini or the popular Kashmir Ganga, at his home, in Kashmir. The term Mandakini is applied by Kalidasa to every Ganga: Bhagirathi, (R. V. XIII, 48) Godavari (M. M. I.) and others (V. V. IV, K. S. I. 16; III 65.) For the popular Kashmir Ganga at *home* of Kalidasa, known as Mandakini, vide, description of Kashmir by the Kashmirian Bilhana, who writes in his retiring mood, V. D. C. XVIII 105.

मन्दाकिन्याः पवन चटुलोत्तालवीची दुकूले
कूलोत्सङ्गे विरचितवतां योगनिद्राभियोगम् ।
शेषाः केषामपिपरिणतौ वासराः पुण्यभाजाम्
शान्तस्वान्तस्थितगिरिसुता वल्लभानां प्रयान्ति ॥

Also compare description of the same river—

हरमुकुटतः स्रस्तया नाकनद्या ibid 55.

62. For home of Kalidasa, identified with Mayagrama on the bank of the popular Kashmir Ganga, see, note 190.

63. भूर्जेषु मर्मरी भूताः कीचकध्वनि हेतवः ।
गङ्गाशीकरिणो मार्गे मरुतस्तं निषेविरे ॥ R V. IV. 73.

The same Krishna Gangã noted by one of its names, Sindhu, in R. V. IV. 67, is in the course of the description, noted by its other name, Gangã, in verse 73. Next, the verse 77—

तत्रजन्यंरघोर्घोरं पार्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत् ।

marks out the battle between the Raghu's army and the hill-tribes, which seems to suggest the old and real political condition of the Gangã or the Krisna Gangã valley as is borne out by Stein's note R. T. II. 288 which refers to the politically disturbed condition of the upper Krishna Ganga Valley in different periods of Kashmir-history, owing to the war-like disposition of the turbulent hill-men of that territory, also compare, R. T. Book VIII 2509—13 where Kalhana bestows special praise on Dhanya's army for successful expedition in that difficult country, inhabited by warlike hillmen.

For the Krishna Gangà, simply called Gangā (or Sindhu) in the Sàradà màhàtmya, see, Stein R. T. Book I. 37*n*.

64. The Ganga of the Vasistha Asrama—

गङ्गाप्रपातान्तनिरूढ शष्पं गौरी गुरोर्गह्वरमाविवेश। R.V. II. 26.

identified with the Kashmir Gangà with its traditional sources on the Haramukuta Mt.; for the site of Vasistha Asrama on the Haramukuta, see, note 25. For the confluence of the Kanaka vahini with the Sindhu or popular Gangà of Kashmir, see, Stein R. T. II 489. For Sindhu as the famous Gangà of Kashmir, see, Ibid II, 335. For the famous Gangà of Kashmir as Sindhu, see Stein R. T. II 363. Book III, 225, Ibid, Bk. 1.57*n*. For the confusion of the meaning of Sindhu and Gangà in Kashmir, see, Ibid, II. 418, 419. For traditional sources of Kashmir Gangà on the Haramukuta Mt. see Stein R. T. II 273, Ibid Bk. 1·57*n*. For pilgrimage to the Haramukuta Gangà, see, Ibid, II. 407, II 489.

65. Gangà in the K. S. 154:—

गङ्गाप्रवाहेा क्षित देवदारु········ प्रस्थं हिमाद्रेर्मृगनाभिगन्धि ,

round the 'Bhutapateràspadam' or the Bhutesh, identified with the Kashmir Gangà, with its traditional sources on the Haramukuta, or the Haramukuta Gangà whose waters are carried by the Kanaka Vahini to the popular Sindhu-Gangà. See notes 64, 66.

66. The Ganga in the M. D. 63—

तस्योत्सङ्गे प्रणयिन इव स्रस्तगङ्गादुकूलाम्—

denotes the Sindhu or the famous Kashmir Gangà, see, Stein R. T. Bk. I. 57*n*.—Under the name Ganga, Sindhu is referred to. "The Sindhu river which drains the mountain-ranges to the North of the Valley from Dras to the Haramukuta is distinctly identified with Ganga by the Nilmat—गङ्गा सिन्धुस्तु विज्ञेया The source of the Sindhu Ganga is placed by ancient tradition in the sacred Ganga lake, below the N. E. glaciers of the Haramukuta Peaks. For white waves of Ganga, see, R. T. Bk. 3.365.

67. The Mánasa lake on the Kailasa in M. D. 62.—

हेमाम्भोजप्रसवि सलिलं मानसस्याददानः ।

denotes the Uttara Manasa lake in Kashmir, by which is meant the sacred Ganga lake, situated below the E. glaciers of the mountain, Haramukuta, and popularly known as Gangabal and supposed to be the source of the Kashmir Ganga. The same designation is given to this lake in H. C. C. IV 87 sqq. The name is found also in the Nilmat. (see Stein R. T. Bk. III, 448n.. also cf. V. D. C. XVIII 55.

68. Inhaling the smoke at the nuptial ceremony :—

वधूमुखं क्लान्तयवावतंसं आचारधूमग्रहणाद्बभूव । K. S. VII, 82.

वधूमुखं पाटलगण्डलेखं आचारधूमग्रहणाद्बभूव । R.V. VII. 27.

The commentators on the above do not refer the practice to any definite authority. Mallinath indefinitely says;—

लाजाञ्जलिं विसृज्य धूमाग्रं जिघ्रेदिति प्रयोगवृत्तिकारः ।

also, अन्ये वृद्धाचाराद् धूमग्रहणमित्याहुः (K. S. VII 82 notes ed. Kale.)

Sumativijaya also indefinitely observes on R. V. 7, 27

लाजाञ्जलिंविसृज्यधूमंसमाजिघ्रेदितिगृह्यसूत्रं,

अनादि परम्परासिद्धोव्यवहार आचार इत्यन्ये.

But Vallabha definitely considers it a *local* custom.

अञ्जलिनावधूर्धूममाजिघ्रतीति लोकाचारः ।

69. For the Kashmirian *Mangala Mālā Vidhi*, compare—

सा चूर्णगौरं रघुनन्दनस्य धात्री कराभ्यां करभोपमोरूः ।

आसञ्जयामास यथाप्रदेशं कण्ठे गुणं मूर्तमिवानुरागम् ॥ R.V. VI. 83.

तया स्रजा मङ्गलपुष्पमय्या ....Ibid 84.

Just as in the Raghuvansa, the offering of the garland—Mangalapushpa Màlã; stands as a symbol of the 'Kanyádána;' similarly, in Kashmir, the Mangala Málá Vidhi is connected with the Kanyádána ceremony.

70. Offering of *wet*-rice on a 'Vedi' as *local* custom :—

क्लृप्तोपचारांचतुरस्रवेदीं तावेत्य पश्चात् कनकासनस्थौ ।

जायापती लौकिकमेषणीयमार्द्राक्षतारोपणमन्वभूताम् ॥

(K. S. VII. 88 cf. R. V. VII, 28.)

In Kashmir, the bride and the bridegroom, before their departure to home, are taken to a 'vedika' (Kashmiri '*vegu*') where offerings are made—in Kashmir they always use *wet*-rice for such purpose; but the *vegu*, nowadays, is said to be circular and not quadrangular in shape.

71. Dramatic performances, by women, in Kalidasa:—

तौसन्धिषु व्यञ्जितवृत्तिभेदं रसान्तरेषु प्रतिबद्धरागम् ।

अपश्यतामप्सरसां मुहूर्तं प्रयोगमाद्यं ललितांगहारम् ॥ K.S. VII. 91.

also note dramatic accompliments of Malavika in M.M., musical accomplishments of Yaksha's wife in the Meghaduta (U. 23.) For dramatic art in ancient Kashmir, compare, N. M. 543, 569, 649 etc: its excellence and performance by women in Kashmir described by the Kashmirian Bilhana (V. D. C. XVIII, 23, 29) :—

रामारामानुकरणविधौ यत्र नास्य प्रयोगे ।

योगस्थानामपि स पुलकं गात्रमासूत्रयन्ति ॥ 23

दृष्ट्वायस्मिन्नभिनयकलाकौशलं नाटकेषु

स्मेराक्षीणां मसृणकरणासङ्ग दत्तांगहारम् ।

रम्भास्तम्भं भजति लभते चित्रलेखा नरेखां

नूनं नाट्ये भवति च चिरं नोर्वशी गर्वशीला ॥29 ॥

72. Bilingual recitation in Sanskrit and Prakrit, by women in Kalidasa:—

द्विधाप्रयुक्तेन च वाङ्मयेन सरस्वती तन् मिथुनं निनाय। K.S. VII. 90.

Compare, Bilhana's description of Kashmir, for the same;

ब्रूमः सारस्वत कुलभुवः किं निधेः कौतुकानां

तस्यानेकाद्भुतकथा कीर्णकर्णामृतस्य ।

यत्रस्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव

प्रत्यावासं विलसतिवचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च ॥ V.D.C. XVIII. 6

73. For drinking on Siva's marriage (K. S. VIII, 27) also (M.D.U. S. आसेवन्ते मधु...) cf. drinking permitted on festive occasions in Kashmir (N. M. 563, 644)

For wine distilled from flowers,

पुष्पासवामोदिसुगन्धिवक्त्रः—R. S. 4. 12.

पुष्पासवाघूर्णितनेत्रशोभिप्रियामुखं किंपुरुषश्चुचुम्बे । K. S. 3. 38.

cf. इरापुष्पसमायुक्तं पानं पेयं विशेषवत् । N. M. 798;

for use of wine in winter,

सुखासवामोदितवक्त्रपङ्कजा R. S. (sisira 5.)

cf. नवं तु मद्यं पातव्यं मद्यपैः पतिते हिमे । N. M. 584.

74. Dasāh (R. V. VIII 73)—for difference of opinion among commentators regarding its meaning, see, (R. V. ed. Nandargikar, on the above).

75. (Fisherman's scene) (Sak. VI.)

Fisherman summoned—(अरे कुम्भीरक......पाटच्चर...सूचक.........)

धीवरः—अहं शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरवासीधीवरः—जालोद्गालादिभिर्मत्स्यबन्धनो
—पायैः कुटुम्बभरणंकरोमि ।

श्यालः—विशुद्ध इदानीं माजीवः ।

धीवरः—सहजं किल यद्विनिन्दितं न खलुतत्कर्म विवर्जनीयम् ।
पशुमारण कर्मदारुणोऽनुकम्पामृदुरेवश्रोत्रियः ॥

76. Compare the fisherman's above defence of his customary profession with the defence of Custom as a recognized authority in the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir.

—प्रसिद्धिरवगीता हि सत्याबागैश्वरीमता ।

तयेतियत्र हि यदा यत् तद् ग्राह्यमशंकितैः (Is. Pr. II. pp. 84.)

77. Illustration of the above (Is. Pr. II 84*n.*)

साचप्रसिद्धिः शास्त्रनिबद्धा वा लोकमुखपारम्पर्य—
—प्रतिष्ठितावा ....लोकेऽपिमुखाम्नायमात्रागता, काचित्
न्यायानुसृताभवति, यथा काश्मीरे धीवरस्य परिहारः प्रसिद्धः ;
...तस्य—जीवितस्य मत्स्यमारणाभ्यासेन पापिष्ठत्वात् ;
न्यायाननुसृता यथावा, दक्षिणापथे मातुल दुहितुः पाणिग्रहणमिति ॥

78. For Sakravatara and Sachi Tirtha as real sites in Kashmir, see, note 51; their association with the fisherman—

शक्रावताराभ्यन्तरवासी धीवरः—शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानया । Sak.

79. Saving the life of fish, an act of piety in V.V. III; says Vidusaka—

छिन्नहस्तो मत्स्ये पलायिते निर्विण्णो धीवरो भणति धर्मो मे भविष्यतीति

80. See note 77. I am told by my friend P. Shankar Lal Kaul M. A. of Srinagar, that even to this day in Kashmir, calling names to a woman, they say—a *fisherwoman*, a boat woman.

81. For the silk and the wool, compare, चीनांशुकम् (Sak. I. 31) with the use of चीनांशुकम् in ancient Kashmir N. M. 436, for the 'woolen' ऊर्णाबन्ध (K. S. III 25.) used every where in India, compare the corrupt form of the word in the Kashmirian language—'*Narvand*,' used for a similar purpose.

Silk and the Wool as emblem of marriage—cf. कौशेय पत्त्रोर्णं ग्रोघमुपानय (M. M. V.) without wearing which, Malavika was not accepted as wife (देवी) by the King in M.M. Silk is used everywhere, but Patrorna, as an emblem of marriage, is limited to Kashmir only. Monier Williams is wrong in translating the word पत्त्रोर्ण as leaf of silk, it can only mean 'leaf of wool (पत्त्र ऊर्ण) or a fine and ancient variety of 'shawl', which was not only a famous and unique industry of Kashmir, but which still has an important social use among Kashmiris, for without wearing the woolen Patrorna, which is preferably white in colour (cf. the white colour of the garments presented to Sakuntala by the sylvan deities Sak. VII 5) and which in the Kashmirian language is known as '*pānbur*', no Kashmiri girl—like Malavika, (M.M.) can be married. The Patrorna known to Kalidasa is not an ordinary woolen stuff, it must be a *fine sheet* of wool (cf.

स्नानीय वस्त्रक्रियया पत्त्रोर्णं वोपयुज्यते । M. M. V. 12.

a product of Kashmir only, whose *essential* use (as Pānbur) at the occasion of giving away of a bride, as in the Malavikagni Mitra, exists only in Kashmir. Thus Kalidasa, unlike other Sanskrit writers outside Kashmir, not only mentions such specialities of Kashmir as the living saffron plant, but also the living industry of 'shawl' or some ancient design of it known to Kashmir only, as well as the special use of the 'Shawl' as the *Panbur* or the wedding-sheet of a Kashmiri girl, known to Kashmiris only. Kalidasa who mentions all this must be a Kashmiri.

81*a*. *Deleted.*

82. For icy waters—आनन्दशीतामिवबाष्पवृष्टिं हिमस्रुतिं

हैमवतीं ससर्ज, R.V. XVI. 44.

तुषारस्रुति K. S. I. 6

cf. Kalhana's characteristic description of Kashmir with the icy-waters.

विद्यावेश्मानितुङ्गानि कुङ्कुमं सहिमंपयः ।

द्राक्षेतियत्र सामान्यमस्तित्रिदिव दुर्लभम् ॥ R. T. 1. 42.

83. The special remark about the closing of the windows in winter—निरुद्धवातायनमन्दिरोदरं (R. S. 5.2) applies with special force to a cold country, like Kashmir, where if anybody happens to open a window during the winter, it is said that he has opened the Bhairava gala (see Rahnumai Kashmir by Mohd. Din Fauq p. 21) for 'Bhairava gala' or the *considerable* hill-pass of Bhairava in Kashmir, see, Srivara Raja Tarangini IV 529, 589 and Stein R. T. II 398.) For the special mention of the '*Vātāyanas*', playing an important part in the buildings of Kashmir, see Bilhana:—

उत्तुङ्गानां मणिगृहभुवां यत्रवातायनेषु V.D.C. XVIII. 4.

also cf. गर्जद्वातायनविततयः शास्त्रगोष्ठीवरिष्ठैः Ibid 25.

also तीरद्वन्द्वप्रणयिभवनव्रातवातायनस्थ·········Ibid 9.

Compare with Kalidasa—पश्य·······

तामुन्निद्रामवनिशयनां सौधवातायनस्थः M. M. U. 25.

84. Heavy clothing of women suggested in the following lines does not apply to Bengal where, it is said, women did not wear the upper garment, it may mark the impressions of a country where cold, during winter, is excessive.—

विमुच्यवासांसि गुरूणि साम्प्रतम्······प्रमदाः स यौवनाः R.S.I. 7.

For the Kusumbha-dyed garment of women.—

कुसुम्भरागारुणितैर्दुकूलैः नितम्ब बिम्बानि विलासिनीनां ।

रक्तांशुकैःकुङ्कमरागगौरै रलंक्रियन्ते स्तनमण्डलानि ॥ R.S. VI. 5.

compare its special mention in the Nilmat of Kashmir.

—अनर्काभ्युदिते काले, स्त्रियःकौसम्भवाससः। (862).

85. The characteristic *ethnic* description of the lips of women, in Kalidasa, favourably compares with the women of Kashmir, who are said to possess red and fleshy lips—

—पक्वबिम्बाधरोष्ठी (M. D. U. 19.)
उमामुखेबिम्बफलाधरोष्ठे (K.S. III. 67.)
बिम्बाधरंस्पृशसि चेत् । (Sak. VI.)
निषिक्त बिम्बाधरचारु पल्लवा (R.S. II. 12.);

and fair complexion, which Kalidasa always has in his mind—

असंस्कार पाटलोष्ठ पुटं मुखम् (Sak. VII. 23.)
कनककमलकान्तैः·········वदन बिम्बैः (R.S.V. 13.)

स्तनेषु गौरेषु (कुङ्कमाक्त) R.S.V.I. 13.)

ताम्ररुचाकरेण (K. S. III. 36.)

and चरणौ ·······पद्मताम्रौ (Sak. III. 19.)

86. The saffron paint of women—

मनोहरैः कुङ्कमरागरक्तैस्तुषार कुन्देन्दुनिभैश्च हारैः ।
विलासिनीनां स्तनशालिनीना मलंक्रियन्ते स्तनमण्डलानि ॥ R.S. IV.2.
पयोधरैः कुङ्कुमरागपिञ्जरैः ॥ R. S. V. 9.
रक्तांशुकैः कुङ्कमरागगौरै रलंक्रियन्ते स्तनमण्डलानि ॥ R.S. VI. 5.
प्रियङ्गुकालीयककुङ्कमाक्त ं स्तनेषु गौरेषु विलासिनीभिः ॥ R.S. VI. 13.

87. Compare with the above, the real practice of saffron paint in Kashmir mentioned by Bilhana (V. D. C. XVIII 10,31.)

स्नानक्रीडाव्यसन समये कुङ्कमं कामिनीनां
यत्रोत्तार्यस्तनपरिसराद् गृह्णतीकान्तमङ्के ।
ईर्ष्यामर्षादिवनिरवद्यैर्वीचिहस्तैर्वितस्ता
कर्षत्यासांप्रतिकलमलिश्यामलान् केशपाशान् ॥ (10)
यत्रास्त्रीणांमसृणघुसृणालेपनोष्णाकुचश्री–
स्ताकस्तूरी परिमल मुचः पट्टिकाराङ्कवाणाम् ।
नौपृष्ठस्थाःशिशिर समये ते वितस्ताजलान्तः
स्नानावासाः प्रचुरमपि च स्वर्गसौख्यं दिशन्ति ॥ (31.)

88. For saffron paint as a prerogative, see, R. T. Bk. VIII 1897.

89. For saffron as pomade, see, R. T. Bk. VI. 120.

90. For the home of saffron in Kashmir, see, R.T.I. 42, also Bilhana—

सहोदराः कुङ्कमकेसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविताविलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मयाप्ररोहः ॥ V.D.C. 1.21.

91. For saffron of finest shade exported from Kashmir, see, Bilhana V. D. C. XVIII 16.—.

काव्यंयेभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं निर्गतं कुङ्कमं च
च्छायोत्कर्षाद् भवतिजगतां वल्लभं दुर्लभं च ।

The Kashmirian saffron which is noted for its red tinge seems to reflect itself in Kalidasa in the line—कुङ्कुमरागरक्तैः (R. S. IV. 2). compare,

काश्मीर देशजे क्षेत्रे कुङ्कमं यत् भवेद्धितत् ।
सूक्ष्मकेशरमारक्तं पद्मगन्धि तदुत्तमम् ॥
बाह्लीकदेशसंजातं कुङ्कमं पांण्डुरं भवेत् ।
केतकी गन्धयुक्तं तत् मध्यमं सूक्ष्मकेशरम् ॥

कुङ्कुमं पारसी केदं मृदुगन्धितदीरितम् ।
ईषत् पाण्डुवर्णं तदधमं स्थूलकेशरम् ॥

(Quoted in Bhava Prakash, S. P. D.)

Thus the saffron of Kalidasa comes from Kashmir.

Kalidasa not only paints the breasts of his ladies with saffron but also other objects (see R. S. IV, note 86), as they do in Kashmir, (see, note 88, 89, 92) where saffron is so common.

92. For saffron as the pomade of Kashmir or काश्मीराङ्गराग: cf.

काश्मीरकाङ्गरागेण यः कायस्तववर्धितः ।
स एव दह्यते सद्यश्चिताहुतवहार्चिषा ॥ see H.C.C. 25. 79.

93. For the plantation and harvest of saffron crop in Kashmir, see, Lawrence, Valley of Kashmir p. 343—344

94. For cultivation of saffron in ancient Kashmir in areas other than the jhelum valley, see, note 60, also see note 216 *b*.

95. Sāli described by Kalidasa:

RITU SAMHĀRA-SARADA.

काशांशुका विकच पद्ममनोज्ञवक्त्रा सोन्मादहंसरवनूपुरनाद रम्या ।
आपक्वशालिरुचिरा तनुगात्र यष्टिः प्राप्ताशरन्नववधूरिवरूपरम्या ॥ R.S III. 1.

आकम्पयन् फलभरानतशालिजालान् आनर्तयंस्तरुवरान् कुसुमावनम्रान् ।
उत्फुल्लपङ्कजवनां नलिनींविधुन्वन् यूनां*मनश्चलयति प्रसभं नभस्वान् R.S.III.10

सम्पन्नशालिनिचयावृतभूतलानि स्वस्थस्थितप्रचुरगोकुलशोभितानि ।
हंसैःससारस कुलैःप्रतिनादितानिसीमान्तराणिजनयन्तिनृणां प्रमोदम् R.S.III.16

HEMANTA.

नवप्रबालोद्गमसस्यरम्यः प्रफुल्ललोध्रःपरिपक्वशालिः† ।
विलीनपद्मः प्रपतत्तुषारो हेमन्तकालः समुपागतोऽयम् ॥ R. S. IV. 1.

प्रभूतशालिप्रसवैश्चितानि मृगाङ्गनायूथ विभूषितानि ।
मनोहरक्रौञ्च निनादितानि सीमान्तराण्युत्सुकयन्ति चेतः ॥ R. S. IV. 8.

वहुगुणरमणीयो योषितां चित्तहारी परिणतबहुशालिव्याकुलग्रामसीमा ।
सततमतिमनोज्ञःक्रौञ्चमालापरीतः प्रदिशतुहिमयुक्तःकालएवः सुखंवः RS.I.V.19

SISIRA.

प्ररूढशाल्यंशुचयैर्मनोहरं क्वचित्स्थितक्रौञ्चनिनादराजितं ।
प्रकामकामं प्रमदा जनप्रियं वरोरुकालं शिशिराह्वयंश्टणु ॥ R. S. V. 1.

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*Kalidasa is the youth.

† The ripe *Sali* growing with the *Lodhra* belongs to the mountainous regions where alone the Lodhra grows. It indicates the rice crop on the mountainous *Karewas* of Kashmir where there is plenty of Lodhra.

प्रचुरगुडविकारः स्वादुशालीक्षु रम्यः प्रबलसुरतकेलिर्जातकंदर्पदर्पः ।
*प्रियजनरहितानां चित्तसंतापहेतुः शिशिरसमय एव श्रेयसे वोऽस्तु नित्यम्

R. S. 5. 16.

96. For rice-crop in Bengal, see, Hunter's Gazeteer Vol IV, 487; throughout Bengal, there are two main harvests of rice in the year. (1) The Aus or early crop, sown on comparatively high lands, during the spring showers and reaped between July and September. (2) The Aman or winter crop sown in low-lying lands from June to August and reaped from November to January.

97. For winter crop in R. S., see, above note 95, for winter crop of rice in different parts of India, see, Hunter's gazetter Vol. IV, for early crop of rice in Bengal, see, note 96.

98. For the Kalama species of rice, see, R. V., 4·37 and K. S. 47.

99. For the sugar cane in the rice-fields, see, R. V. 4·20. It is said that the rice crop with sugar cane was also cultivated at Dumel or Muzaffarabad in Kashmir.

100. For antumn crop of rice in Kalidasa, see note 95; also see R. V. 4. 20.

101. For similes based on rice plants in Kalidasa.—

तस्थुस्तेऽवाङ्मुखाःसर्वे फलिताइव शालयः । R. V. XV. 78,

गर्भशालीसधर्माणस्तस्यगूढंविपेचिरे । Ibid XVII. 53.

आपादपद्मप्रणताः कलमा इवते रघुम् । Ibid 4, 37.

उपेक्षते यः श्लथलम्बिनीर्जटाःकपोलदेशेकलमाग्रपिङ्गलाः K.S. 5. 47.

102. For rice as staple food of Kalidasa, see, R. S. 5·16., note 95.

103. For rice producing tracts in India, see, Hunter's gazetter Vol. IV.

104. For saffron plant, see, R. V. 4; 67.

105. For sāli in Kashmir, see, N. M. 33.

—शालिमालाकुलंस्फीतम्·········कश्मीर मण्डलं पुण्यम् ॥

106. Compare the scenery of the rice fields (R. S. III, IV) with the one in Kashmir, also described in N. M. 32 and 44.

107. For rice as agreeable food mentioned by Kalidasa, see, (R. S 5·16, note 95.)

108. For rice, its large cultivation, and as staple food in Kashmir see, Lawrance, Valley of Kashmir, pp. 325—330.

109. For the sun-cult in India, see, Dr. Bhandarkar's Vaisnavism and other religions pp. 155.

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* Kalidasa describing the winter-crop of Bengal (?) is away from home in Kashmir.

110. Sun-worship in Kalidasa—
साहं तपः सूर्यनिविष्टदृष्टिः । R. V. 14, 66.
अनन्य दृष्टिः सवितारमैक्षत । K. S. 5, 20.
यत्रस्थाणुरिवाचलोमुनिरसावभ्यर्कबिम्बंस्थितः । Sak. 7, 11.
अप्सरोवारपर्यायेण इह भगवतः सूर्यस्यपादमूलोपस्थानं वर्तते । V.V, IV.

111. For the Gauri Sikhara (K. S. 5·7) cf. Gauri Sikhar in Kashmir N. M. 1448, 1449.

112. For the Kashyapa Swami Martand, see, N. M. 1189.

113. For the famous sun temples in India, see, Bhandarkar—Vaisnavism etc. pp. 155.

114. The Meghaduta denotes worship of Siva and great prediliction for the deity. The K. S. II. 58 exalts Siva over Brahmā and Visnu, Brahmā saying—

स हि देवः परं ज्योतिः तपः पारे व्यवस्थितम् ।
परिच्छिन्नप्रभावर्द्धिर्न मया न च विष्णुना ॥

The opening verse of the R. V. prays Siva and Parvati as parents of the world.

115. The V. V. begins with prayer to Siva under the name, 'Sthānu,' while the M. M. and the Sak. pray to Siva as अष्टमूर्तिः ।

116. For prayer to Brahmā, see, K. S. II, 4—15. For prayer to Visnu, see, R. V. X, 16—33.

117. Compare the prayer to Brahmā in the Kumara Sambhava with the prayer to Brahmā in the Kashmir-tradition of the Nilmat.

Prayer to Brahmā *Kumara Sambhava II.*	*Prayer to Brahmā* *Nilmat.*
नमस्त्रिमूर्तयेतुभ्यं प्राक्सृष्टेःकेवलात्मने ।	नमस्तेदेवदेवेश जगत्कारणकारण ।
गुणत्रयविभागाय पश्चाद्भेदमुपायुषे ॥४॥	त्रैलोक्यनाथसर्वज्ञसर्वेश्वरनमोस्तुते 1260.
यदमोघमपामन्तरुप्तं बीजमजत्वया ।	शब्दयोनिस्तथाकाशं जगद्धारयतेप्रभो ।
अतश्चराचरंविश्वं प्रभवस्तस्यगीयसे ५॥	वीर्येणतेमहाभागत्वंचप्रोक्तस्तथापरः 1265
तिसृभिस्त्वमवस्थाभिर्महिमानमुदीरयन् ।	त्वयासर्वमिदंव्याप्तं त्रैलोक्यंसचराचरम् ॥
प्रलयस्थितिसर्गाणामेकःकारणतांगतः ६॥	स्रष्टात्वमस्यसर्वस्य संहर्तापालकस्तथा 1262
स्त्रीपुंसावात्मभागौतेभिन्नमूर्तेःसिसृक्षया	भूमिर्धृताधारयतेत्वयेदंसचराचरम् । 1264
प्रसूतिभाजःसर्गस्यतावेवपितरौस्मृतौ ७॥	त्वयाधृताधारयन्ति तथैवापोऽखिलंजगत्
स्वकालपरिमाणेनव्यस्तरात्रिंदिवस्यते ।	यदुन्मीलयसिनेत्रे त्रैलोक्यस्योद्भवस्तदा ।
यौतुस्वप्नावबोधौतौभूतानांप्रलयोदयौ८॥	भवतीहजगन्नाथ यदास्वपिषि वैतदा ॥ 1263
	तदेदखिलंदेवत्रैलोक्यं संप्रणश्यति ।

Prayer to Brahmā *Kumara Sambhava II.*—contd.	*Prayer to Brahmā* *Nilmat.*—contd.
जगद्योनिरयोनिस्त्वं जगदन्तोनिरन्तकः ।	
जगदादिरनादिस्त्वं जगदीशोनिरीश्वरः ९	
आत्मानमात्मनावेत्सिसृजस्यात्मनमात्मना	त्वत्तोन्यं नैव पश्यामि
आत्मनाकृतिनाचत्व मात्मन्येवप्रलीयसे १०	जगतोऽस्येह कारणम् 1261
द्रवःसंघातकठिनः स्थूलःसूक्ष्मोलघुर्गुरुः ।	त्वंबुद्धिस्त्वंतथैवात्मासर्वस्यास्यप्रकीर्तितः
व्यक्तोऽव्यक्तेतरश्चासिप्राकाम्यंतेविभूतिषु ११	अव्यक्तःपुरुषश्चैवरजःसत्वंतमस्तथा 1266
उद्घातःप्रणवोयासां न्यायैस्त्रिभिरुदीरणम्	
कर्मयज्ञःफलंस्वर्गस्तासांत्वंप्रभवोगिराम् १२	(ज्ञाताज्ञेय)
त्वामामनन्तिप्रकृतिंपुरुषार्थप्रवर्तिनीम् ।	
तद्दर्शिनमुदसीनंत्वामेव पुरुषंविदुः ॥ १३	(क्षेत्रक्षेत्रज्ञ)
त्वंपितॄणामपिपितादेवानामपिदेवता ।	इन्द्रियाणीन्द्रियर्थाश्चभूततन्मात्रसंज्ञकः ।
परतोऽपिपरश्चासिविधातावेधसामपि १४	ज्ञाताज्ञेयं (12) तथा क्षेत्रंक्षेत्रज्ञः (13) परमेश्वरः (14) 1267
त्वमेवहव्यंहोताच भोज्यंभोक्ताचशाश्वतः ।	ध्याताध्येयंतथाध्यानंयज्ञाश्चबिविधास्तथा
वेद्यंचवेदिताचापिध्याताध्येयंचयत्परम् १५	सर्वमेतत्त्वमेवैकस्त्वत्तःकिमपरंप्रभो ॥1269

In both the works, Brahmā refers the gods, to Siva.

सहिदेवः परं ज्योतिः	स एव भगवान् शम्भुः………
तमःपारे व्यवस्थितम् ।	नाहं अस्यतुतद्रूपंनिरुपयितुमञ्जसा…
परिच्छिन्नप्रभावर्धि—	यथाऽहं तस्यश्रीविष्णुःपरस्यपरमात्मनः
नमया न च विष्णुना K.S. II.58.	परंतत्वंनजानामि सतथास्यजगत्पतेः ॥ N. M. 1277.

Indeed, the whole version of the story of Kumara Sambhava of Kalidasa appears to the based on an ancient Kashmirian version of it, for it agrees on vital points, such as that of the restoration of Kama, with another Kashmirian version of the story in the H. C.C., and disagrees on the same vital point with the Siva purana which otherwise appears to be a close paraphrase of the Kumar Sambhava of Kalidasa just as the Padma purana version of the story of Sakuntala is a summary of the drama of Kalidasa. Points of agreement between the K. S. and the H. C. C., may be noted, as below:—

(*a*) Compare the name of Parvati.

उ मेतिमात्रातपसोनिषिद्धा K. S. 1. 26.

उ मा मृदुशरीरात्वं तपः क्लेशावहं कुरु । H. C. C. 69.

(*b*) Weapon of Kāma named Sammohana.

संमोहनं नाम च पुष्पधन्वा K. S. 3. 66.

मार्गणं परमेशायसंदग्धे मोहनाभिधम् H. C. C. 55.

(*c*) Himavān brings back his daughter.

दुहितरमनुकम्प्यामद्रिरादायदोर्भ्यां K. S. 4. 76.

तामानिनायशैलेन्द्रस्तदानींनिजकन्यकाम् । H. C. C. 64.

(*d*) Restoration of Kāma to life.

परिणेष्यति पार्वतीं यदा तपसा तत् प्रवणीकृतोहरः ।

उपलब्धसुखस्तदा स्मरं वपुषास्वेननियोजयिष्यति ॥ K.S. 4, 42.

अथ गौरीमुखाम्बोज दर्शनोत्सुक मानसः ।

ससर्ज मदनंदेवो गिरिशो निजयेच्छया ॥ H. C. C. 154.

But the Siva purana reproduces verses after verses from Kalidasa—even the *local* custom of offerings of *wet*-rice in Kalidasa (see note 70) appears as a general ceremony in the Siva purana (अक्षतारोपणंतत्र स्त्रियश्चक्रुस्तदाज्ञया; the significant आर्द्र is omitted here, see note 70) Regarding the incident of rejuvenation of Kama, departing from the original source, namely Kumara Sambhava, Siva purana produces a breach in the main story and shows later influences of the Krishna-Gopi cult not found in the works of Kalidasa, and writes thus:—

अनंगस्तावदेवस्याद् यावच्चरुक्मिणी पतिः ।

द्वारकायां स्वयंस्थित्वा पुत्रानुत्पादयिष्यति ।

ततःकृष्णस्तु रुक्मिण्यां काममुत्पादयिष्यति ॥ S. P. II, 24, 25.

Thus Siva purana is distinctly a later production than the work of Kalidasa.

118. The Nilmat purana of Kashmir which woships all gods and goddesses has a distinct leaning for Saivism and worships Siva as the highest deity. The Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir, calling Siva as the highest deity, has room for worship of other gods and goddesses

संभवन्ति हि मायागर्भाधिकारिणोविष्णु विरिंचाद्याः । Is. Pr. I. pp.13.

For prayer to Brahmā in the N. M. see 1260—1268.
For prayer to Visnu in the N. M. see N. M. Ed. Zadu 219—226, 1419—1433.

The N. M. 1278, 79, exalts Siva over Brahmā and Visnu—Brahmā saying—

यथाऽहं तस्य श्रीविष्णुः परस्य परमात्मनः ।

परं तत्वं न विजानामि स तथास्य जगत्पतेः ॥

स एष त्रिजगन्नाथोधूर्जटिश्चन्द्रशेखरः………… ॥

The N. M. also worships Siva as अष्टमूर्तिः—

नमस्तेदेवदेवेश मायाधृतजगतत्रय ।

यजमानोमहीखश्च तोयाग्नीन्द्वर्कवायवः ॥ N. M. 183.

वामार्धदयितास्थानं कथं जातं तवप्रभो ।

समाधिनिरतोनित्यं ब्रह्मचार्य·········भवान् ॥ 1288.

Compare the above with M. M. I.

कान्तासंमिश्रदेहोऽप्यविषयमनसां यःपुरस्ताद्यतीनाम् ।

119. Monistic Saivism in Kalidasa: Siva is described as the Asta murti, the whole creation forms a part of his being; He being the universe as well as the ruler of the universe.
For Siva and Parvati as one individual creating the Drama of this world, see, M. M. I. 4.—see, notes 114, 115.

120. For sober practices of Kashmir-Saivism as distinguished from the ghastly type of Saivism outside Kashmir, see, Bhandarkar Vaisnavism etc. p. 128, 129.

121. For Pratyabhijna Darsana of Kashmir, see, Sarva Darsan Sangrah ed. Cowell pp. 128 sqq. and Bhandarkar's Vaisnavism etc. under 'Kashmir Saivism' p. 129 sqq.

122. Temple's Word of Lalla p. 111.

122*a*. For some and not all Agamas, dualistic, see, J. C. Chatterjee Kashmir Saivism p. 8, 9,

123. For Monistic Saivism in the Nilmat representing the central doctrines of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, see, the following N. M. 1269 sqq; cf. note 117, Brahma's reply to Indra's prayer.

एवमुक्तस्तुशक्रेण ब्रह्मावचनमब्रवीत् । मामाशक्रवदेदेवं अभिज्ञातोऽसिपुत्रक ।

एष सर्वेश्वरः शक्र एव कारणकारणम् ॥ 1270

एषचाचिन्त्यमहिमा, एष ब्रह्मसनातनम् ।

स एष सर्व कर्ता च सर्वज्ञश्च महेश्वरः ॥ 1271

यदिच्छया जगदिदं वर्वर्तिसचराचरम् ।

यस्यशक्तिलता सेऽयंसूर्यचन्द्रात्मनःप्रभोः ॥ 1272.

पुष्पिताऽखिलमेवेदं जगद्भासयते भवात् ।

त्वमहं चापियस्यैव शासने समवस्थितौ ॥ 1273

Indra's Prayer to Siva

शक्र उवाच—नमस्तेदेवदेवेशमायाधृतजगत्त्रय ।

यजमानोमहीखं च तोयाग्नीन्द्वर्कवायवः ॥ 1283.

तनवस्तेत्रिनिर्दिष्टा याभिर्व्याप्तं जगत्त्रयम् ।
ब्राह्मींतनुं समास्थाय राजसींत्वं जगद्गुरो ॥ 1284
लोकान्सृजसिभूतात्मन् तवकार्यं न विद्यते ।
पौरुषींतनुमास्थाय सात्विकीं त्वं महेश्वर ॥ 1285.
पालयस्यखिलंदेवत्रैलोक्यं साक्षिवत्स्थितः ।
कालाख्यांतामसीं कृत्वा जगत्संहरसितथा ॥ 1286.
क्षमस्व मम देवेश यन्मयासि न पूजितः ॥ 1293,
तवैव मायया पूर्वं मोहितेनजगत्प्रभो ।
प्रसन्नोऽसि ध्रुवं शंभोयेनज्ञातोऽसिवैमया ॥ 1294.
सुप्रसन्नोऽसिदेवेश प्रणतोऽस्मिमहेश्वर ॥ 1295.

The above is a fair description of the tenets of the Pratyabhijna philosophy. Indra must recognize—(अभिज्ञात:) Siva as the only supreme deity, Cause of all causes—कारण कारणम् (1270) who by his free will or इच्छा creates the universe by his own Sakti—'*creeper*,' which manifests itself as the universe, which is but a reflection (भासयते) of Siva's own Sakti (1272. 1273.) The eight forms of Siva (अष्टमूर्ति) constitute the changing universe and yet Siva is unchanging (तवकार्यं न विद्यते). Siva is the eternal witness, the person who creates. Moha or Delusion is produced by Siva's own Sakti or Maya which sustains the universe; hence he is not *known* (नपूजितः)

Next, Siva is approached (प्रणतोस्मि) with the humility of a Dāsa, which produces his प्रसाद. His Prasād or Anugraha is followed by the recognition or realization of the Deity अभिज्ञातोऽसिवैमया (1294) Siva 'Sāsana'(शासन) in the above verse 1273. may suggest the existence of ancient treatises——known as 'Siva Sāsana,' (cf. शिवशासनोपदिष्टेन Pr. II. pp. 131 शिवशासनदृष्टि) of the Pratyabhijna philosophy or the very name of the Pratyabhijna philosophy in *ancient* Kashmir, cf. व्युच्छिन्ने शिवशासने, note, 127.

124. For the date of Nilmat about the 6th or the 7th cent. A. D. see, Buhler's report on search of Sanskrit manuscripts in Kashmir pp. 41. . also see (our appendix A.)

125. For the sketch of Saivism in Kashmir that follows, see, Kashmir Saivism by J. C. Chatterjee, Part I, and Isvara Pratyabhijna Vol. I, II Ed. P. Madhusudan Kaul.

126. On the sources of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, writes Pandit Madhusudan Kaul in his introduction to Isvara Pr.Vol.II. p. 3:—

'There might have been other sources known to Utpala from which he collected the material to interweavs the fabric of Isvara pratyabhijna. But such sources are *irrevocably* lost to us now.'

Mr. Chatterji in his Kashmir-Saivism describing the Agama Sastras as revelations and as the sources of the Pratyabhijna Sastra, writes, that most of the Agamas existed long before the appearance or reappearance of the Trika and that *some* of them were dualistic in their teaching, implying thereby that *some* were *monistic.* We have shown in our note 123 that Monistic Saivism of the Pratyabhijna type is already known to the Nilmat in the 6th cent. A. D., and it is strange that it has escaped the notice of Mr. Madhu Sudan and Chatterji both. The authors of the Pratyabhijna themselves in the 8th cent. record the previous existence of the philosophy in Kashmir—

श्रीत्र्यम्बकसद्वंशमध्यमुक्तामयस्थितेः ।
श्रीसोमानन्दनाथस्य विज्ञानप्रतिबिम्बकम् ॥ Is. Pr. 2.

Again the tradition records,

प्रथममेव ईशानः·········चतुष्षष्टितन्त्राणि शैवदर्शनानि जज्ञिरे । तानि कलिकालुष्यात्·········विछिन्नसंचाराणि व्यनश्यन् । इत्थं व्युछिन्ने शिवशासने कदाचित् कैलासगिरौ परिभ्रमन् श्रीकण्ठमूर्तिःशिवो निखिल शैवशास्त्रोपनिषत्सारभूतस्य त्रिकमतविज्ञानस्य प्रचारार्थं दुर्वाससं (see pp. 73) मुनिमजज्ञपत् । स मुनिः मानसान् सिद्धान्·········सत्संप्रदायमार्गं प्रचारयितुंन्ययुङ्क्त ।तेषु मतेषु प्रशस्तं अद्वयार्थविषयकं त्रिकाख्यमतं त्रैयम्बक संप्रदायकं सर्वश्रेष्ठं प्रशस्यते (Tantraloka Quoted Chat P.P.6.)

127. I have freely drawn on Mr. Chatterji's book, Kashmir Saivism P. I for this sketch of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, and I also add below appropriate quotations from original works on the Pratyabhijna, in its support.

127. (*a*) *One Existence—Mahesvara; Unity of Siva and Sakti* —

चैतन्यमात्मा (S. S. I. 1.)

इहहिसर्वत्राप्रतिहतशक्तिः परमेश्वर एव तथा बभूषुः तथाभवति नत्वन्यः कश्चित्परमार्थतोऽस्ति इत्यसकृदुक्तम् Is. Pr. vi. II 223.

स्वात्मैवसर्वभूतानां एक एव महेश्वरः । Is. Pr. 4. 1. 1.

चिदेवभगवती···तत्तद्जगद्आत्मना स्फुरति (Pr. Hrid. P. 3.)

(*b*) *Transcendent and immanent aspects of the Reality.*

पराशक्तिरूपा चितिरेवभगवती··· शिवभट्टारकाभिन्ना । (Ibid P.2.)

न शिवः शक्तिरहितो न शक्तिर्व्यतिरेकिणी Sh. Dr. iii 2, 3.

(*c*) Unity, compared with the unity of word and meaning—

चितिःप्रत्यवमर्शात्मा, परावाक्स्वरसोदिता । स्वातन्त्र्यमेतन्मुख्यंतद् ऐश्वर्यं परमात्मनः ॥ अत्रेदंतात्पर्यम्—अभिन्नवाच्या आद्यावागेषा नित्यचित्

स्वरूपत्वेनानाद्यन्ता परतन्त्रभावान्तरानपेक्षं शुद्धमेतत् स्वातन्त्र्यं ऐश्वर्य संज्ञमिति । Is. Pr. Vol. I, 1, 5, 13 see note 170.

(*d*) Siva and Sakti described—

शक्तयश्च असंख्येयः—मुख्याभिः पञ्चभिः शक्तिभिर्युक्तोऽपि इच्छाज्ञानक्रिया शक्तियुक्तः शिवरूपः, प्रकाशरूपताचित् शक्तिः, स्वातन्त्र्यं आनन्दशक्तिः, तच्चमत्कार इच्छाशक्तिः, आमर्षात्मकताज्ञानशक्तिः, सर्वकारयोगित्वं क्रिया शक्तिः । (Tan Sar.)

सैषासारतयाप्रोक्ता हृदयंपरमेष्ठिनः Is. Pr. Vol., 1, 5, 14.

शिवःशक्तस्तथाभावानिच्छयाकर्तुमीहते, शक्ति-शक्तिमतोर्भेदः शैवेजातु न वर्ण्यते । Si. Dr. iii. 2, 3.

(*e*) World an emanation of Siva—

एषाप्रकृतिःकार्यकारणतया पुरुषस्य परमेश्वरस्यइच्छयाभोग्यतयाप्रवृत्ता, प्रकाशःपुनःस्वचमत्कारसारःस्वेच्छयास्वात्मभित्तौ अभेदेन परामृशन् स्वसंविदुपादानमेव विश्वमाभासयति (P. S.)

World an expression of Divine Free will—

तस्मात् अनपन्हवीयः प्रकाशविमर्शात्मा संवित्स्वभावः परमशिवोभगवान् स्वातन्त्र्यादेव,अनतिरिक्तयापि अतिरिक्तयेव स्वरूपानाच्छादिकयासंवित् स्वरूपानन्तरीयक स्वातन्त्र्यमहिम्ना प्रकाशते । Pr. vi. vi.)

(*f*) The Ābhāsa vada—

आदर्शेमलरहिते यद्वद्वदनंविभाति तद्वदयम् ।
शिवशक्तिपातविमले धीतत्वे भातिभारूपः ॥ (P.S.)
चेतनो हि स्वात्मदर्पणे भावान् प्रतिबिम्बवदाभासायति । Is. Pr.

Appearances, aspects of the Ultimate Reality.

वर्तमानावभासानां भावानामवभासनं ।
अन्तःस्थितवतामेव घटते बहिरात्मना ॥ Is. Pr. 32.
उन्मीलनम् अवस्थितस्यैव प्रकटीकरणम् (Pr. Hr. 6.)

(*g*) Objections to Vivarta and to Parināma—Vada.

विवर्तोहि असत्यरूपनिर्भासात्माइत्युक्तं, निर्भासते च असत्यं च इति कथम इति न चिन्तितम् । परिणामेतुरूपान्तरं तिरोभवति रूपान्तरं प्रादुर्भवतीत्युक्तम् ; प्रकाशस्य तुरूपान्तराभावात् तत् तिरोधाने स्यादान्ध्यम्, अप्रकाशश्चप्रादुर्भवन् नैवप्रकाशेत इत्युभयथापि सुप्तंजगत्स्यात् इति न

पर्यालोचितम् । प्रतिबिम्बवादे च स्वच्छतामात्रं संवेदनस्य न स्वातन्त्र्यं इति सत्समर्पकवस्त्वन्तरपर्येषणाकर्तव्या । अविद्या अनिर्वाच्या वैचित्र्यं च आधत्ते इति व्याहतम् । पारमेश्वरी शक्तिरेव इयमिति हृदयावर्जकः क्रमः ॥

(Apparent division, as it were, a strength to unity.)

तस्मात् अनपन्हवीयः प्रकाशविमर्शात्मासंवित्स्वाभावः परमशिवोभगवान् स्वातन्त्र्यादेव अनतिरिक्तयापि अतिरिक्तयेव स्वरूपानाच्छिदकया संवित स्वरूपानन्तरीयकस्वातन्त्र्य महिम्ना प्रकाशते इत्ययं स्वातन्त्र्यवादः प्रोन्मीलितः । (Pr. vi. vi.)

(*h*) Creation a Negation of the Subjective Unity—

विश्वस्यप्रमातृप्रमेयरूपस्य पराहन्ताचमत्कारसारस्यापि स्वस्वरूपापोहनात्माख्यातिमयी निषेधव्यापाररूपायापारमेश्वरी शक्तिः । P.S. 4.

(*i*) Siva becomes the jiva—

शिव एव गृहीतपशुभावः । (P. S.)

(*j*) Influence of the Creative power, named Maya Sakti—the Power of Necessity.

परं यत् स्वातन्त्र्यं दुर्घट संपादनं महेशस्य देवीमायाशक्तिः स्वात्मावरणं शिवस्यैतत्, न पुनः ब्रह्मवादिनामिव काचित्मायाउपपद्यते (P.S.)

तिरोधानकरीमायाभिधापुनः (Is. Pr.)

मायाविमोहिनीनाम—मोहः आवरणं, तस्यवशोविच्युतिः, तया च शक्तिमान्आक्षिप्यते । न खलु (अनिर्वाच्याकारः कश्चिद्ब्रविद्यात्माभोहः नापि सांख्यदृशिइव रजस्तमोवृत्तिमोहः—परमेश्वरस्वातन्त्र्यमेव मायाख्यं मोहयतीत्याशयः । (Pr. vi. vi. vol. I. 35.)

(*k*) Anugraha aspect of Sakti—

प्रकाशाप्रकाशरूपे अनुग्रहतिरोधान शक्ती द्वे एव । (P. S.)

(*l*) Pratyabhijna, the only way to Realization—

येकेनापि आशयवशेनशापादिना* वा मूढाः सन्तोऽपि प्रागभ्यस्त स्वात्म ज्ञानवासना प्रबोधानुगृहीताः स्वात्मस्थितिं च लभन्ते । सर्वे स्वात्ममहेश्वर प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् तन्मया भवन्ति । (Com. Y. R. on P. S. 82.)

तस्य महेश्वरस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञा—प्रतीपमात्माभिमुख्येन ज्ञानं प्रकाशः प्रत्याभिज्ञा ।

स्मरणानुभवारूढा सामानिधकरण्यधीः ।
संस्कारेन्द्रियजन्या च प्रत्याभिज्ञाप्रकीर्तिता ॥

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* Cf. 34*a*, origin of curse (शाप) in the Drama of Sakuntala.

आत्मनि सततं भात्यपि मोहादावृते इव पुनराभिमुख्येन ज्ञानं (प्रत्यभिज्ञानं) इति। Is. Pr. 1, 20.

(*m*) Means of securing Recognition—

एकवारं प्रमाणेन शास्त्राद्वा गुरुवाक्यतः ।
ज्ञाते शिवत्वे सर्वस्थे प्रतिपत्त्यादृढात्मना ॥ (Siva Dr.)
शास्त्रगुरुस्वप्रत्ययसिद्धोऽयमर्थः। (Com. Is. Pr. II. 4, 21.)

(*n*) Attainment of Realization, gradual or abrupt—

तथाप्रत्यभिज्ञातात्मस्वरूपस्य……… देहे परमेश्वरतैव अभ्यासभावनाबलेन तु शिवशासनोपदिष्टेन इहैवशरीरे पारमेश्वर्यांशधर्मोद्गमः। यस्य तु व्यवहारसाधनेहेतुकलापेऽपि अलिद्धाभिमानः, तस्य तत्रापि व्यवहार साधनैरेव व्यामोहोऽपसार्यः यस्यतु सर्वथानापसरति, तत्रेश्वरशक्तिवलान् मूढतैव, तस्यापि कर्णपथगमनात् संस्कारपाकेनावश्यं कदाचिद्धविष्यत्येव स्वरूपालाभः। (Pr. vi. II. 2, 3, 17.)

Experience abides, see, note 146 *infra*.

एवमात्मानमेतस्य, सम्यग्ज्ञानक्रियेतथा ।
जानन् यथेप्सितान् पश्यन् जानाति चाकरोतिच ॥ Is. Pr. II. 4. 1. 15

(*o*) Service of Humanity enjoined.

कथंचिदासाद्यमहेश्वरस्य दास्यं जनस्याप्युपकारमिच्छन् ।
समस्तसम्पत्समवाप्तिहेतु तत्प्रत्यभिज्ञामुपपादयामि ॥ (Is.Pr. i. 1.1.)

Com.– दीयते अस्मै स्वामिना सर्वं यथाभिलषितं इतिदासः—तस्यभावः, जनस्येति यः कश्चिज्जायमानः तस्य इत्यनेन अधिकारविषयो नात्रकश्चिन्नियम इति दर्शयति—जनस्य अनवरतजननमरण पीडितस्य इत्यनेन कृतास्पदतया उपकरणीयत्वमाह—न हि अयं दैवशापः* स्वार्थ एव प्रयोजनं न परार्थ इति ॥ (cf. जानाति च करोति च see n.)

128. Siva as Dancer—

पश्चादुच्चैः……… नृत्यारम्भे हर पशुपतेः (M. D. 36.)

Siva and Parvati in one person creating the whole Drama of life:—

देवानामिदमामनन्ति मुनयःकान्तंक्रतुं चाक्षुषं ।
रुद्रेणेदमुमाकृतव्यतिकरे स्वाङ्गे विभक्तं द्विधा ॥

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*Ethical ground of the curse of Durvasa to Sakuntala in the Drama.

त्रैगुण्योद्भवमत्रलोकचरितं नानारसंदृश्यते ,
नाट्यं भिन्नरुचेर्जनस्यबहुधाप्येकं समाराधनम् ॥ M. M. I. 4.
Compare with the Pratyabhijna doctrine—
नर्तक आत्मा, रङ्गोऽन्तरात्मा, प्रेक्षकाणीन्द्रियाणि (S.S. III. 9, 11.
संसारनाट्यप्रवर्तयिता……एक एव परमेश्वरः (Is. Pr.)

129. *Love-metaphor in the Pratyabhijna*—

ननुप्रमातृविश्रान्तिसारार्थक्रिया प्रत्यभिज्ञानेन विना न दृष्टा, सतितुदृष्टा; सतितत्रदृष्टा इतिक एतदुपलब्धम् इत्याशङ्क्याह— तैस्तैरप्युपयाचितैरुपनतस्तन्व्याःस्थितोऽप्यन्तिके, कान्तालोकसमान एवमपरिज्ञातो न रन्तुं यथा। लोकस्यैष तथा न वेक्षितगुणः स्वात्मापिविश्वेश्वरो, नैवालं निजवैभवाय तदियं तत् प्रत्यभिज्ञोदिता। (Is. Pr. 4, 22.)

Commentary,

यदानायकगुणसंश्रवणप्रवृद्धानुरागा कामिनी* तद्दर्शनमेव परमुपादेयमाकांक्षन्ती दिवानिशमवशहृदया देवतोपयाचितानिदूतीसंप्रेषणानि मदनलेखकद्वारकात्मावस्थानिवेदनानि कुर्वाणा विरहक्षामी भवद्गात्रलतिकातिष्ठति, तदातदुपयाचितवशादशङ्कितमेव सविधवर्तिनि प्रियतमेऽवलोकिते तैस्तै रुत्कर्ष विशेषैःपरामर्शपदवीमगच्छद्भिर्जनसाधारणतामापादितेसंपन्नमपितात्प्रियतमावलोकनं न हृदयं पूर्णीकरोति, तथा स्वात्मनि विश्वेश्वरे सततं निर्भासमानेऽपि तन्निर्भासनं न हृदयस्य पूर्णतामाधत्ते; यतः सोऽप्यात्मा विश्वज्ञत्वकर्तृत्वाद्यप्रतिहतस्वशक्तिलक्षणपारमेश्वर्योत्कर्षयोगेन न परामृष्टः,—इति भासमानघटादितुल्यवृत्तान्तो जातः। यदा तु दूतीवचनाद्वातल्लक्षणाभिज्ञानाद्वोपायान्तराद्वा तानुत्कर्षान्हृदयंगमीकरणेनामृशति, तदातत्क्षणभङ्गुतफुल्लन्यायेनैव तावत् कामपि पूर्णतामभ्येति, परिभोगाभ्यासरसे तु विश्रान्त्यन्तराण्यपि लभते; तद्वदात्मनि गुरुवचनाज्ज्ञानक्रियालक्षणशक्त्यभिज्ञानादेर्वा यदा पारमेश्वर्योत्कर्षहृदयंगमीभावो† जायते, तदा तत्क्षणमेव पूर्णतात्मिका जीवन्मुक्तिः, समावेशाभ्यासरसे तु विभूतिलाभः,--इति तस्य प्रत्यभिज्ञैव परापरसिद्धिप्रदायिनी भवति।

130. The frequent and appropriate use of the term Pratyabhijna which may be interpreted philosophically—

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*Cf the metaphor sustained throughout with a little adaptation, in the Sak.
†Cf. भावैकरसंमनः of Parvati in the Kumara Sambhava.

किन्तुप्रत्यभिज्ञानाभरणदर्शनेन शापोनिवर्तिष्यते[a] । (Sak. IV.)

सखि, यदि नाम स राजाप्रत्यभिज्ञानमन्थरोभवेत्[b] । (Ibid)

अपनेष्यामि तावत् तेऽवगुण्ठनम्—ततस्त्वांभर्ताभिज्ञास्यति[c] (Ibid.)

अथवाईदृशोनुरागोऽभिज्ञानमपेक्षते कथमिवैतत्[d] । (Sak. VI.)

त्वयाप्रत्यभिज्ञातमात्मानं पश्यामि[e] (Sak. VII.)

(*a*) The curse of *forgetfulness* of the *power* of self, Atma-Sakti, can be got over by the ring of *recognition*. (*b*) The curse or *necessity* of manifold creation retards *recognition* of *Unity*. (*c*) The Veil of Sakti (अवगुंठनम्) identical with the technical पिधान or delusion can not *really* be removed till the charge of creation or course of evolution is over and *experience* through *recognition* is gained. (*d*) Realization of love (अनुराग) that is God's *power* or Sakti, in gained through *recognition* only (*e*) Recognition leads to self-realization—cf. the *exact* teaching of the Pratyabhijna:—

ये, केनापि शापादिना……मूढाःसन्तोऽपि, प्रागभ्यस्तस्वात्मज्ञानवासना प्रबोधानुगृहीताः स्वात्मस्थितिं च लभन्ते । सर्वेस्वात्ममहेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानात् तन्मया भवन्ति । (P. S.)

131. With Kalidasa, as with the Pratyabhijna philosophy, universe is the expression of the Divine Love, or Siva-Parvati. cf. the various stages of the development of the Drama of Sakuntala —viz. expression of Love or marriage between Dushyanta and Sakuntala, and her *conception*, joy of Love or their Love-meetings, anguish of love or their separation, non-remembrance of love or Dushyanta's refusal to admit Sakuntala as his w fe, and recognition of love or their reunion;—with the five '*krityas*' of the Pratyabhijna philosophy—

—सृष्टिस्थिति संहार पिधानानुग्रह लक्षणानि पञ्चकृत्यानि । तत्र पिधानं नाम संस्कारमात्रतया स्थितस्यापि विलीनीकरणम् । अनुग्रहः स्वातन्त्र्य तादात्म्यतयावस्थापनमिति (Is- Pr. vi. vi.)

132. Sakti, the heart of Siva;—

सा स्फुरत्ता महासत्ता देशकालाविशेषिणी ।
सैषा सारतयाप्रोक्ता हृदयं परमेष्ठिनः ॥ (Is. Pr. I. 5, 14.)

133. For स्वातन्त्र्यमहिम्नाप्रकाशते, see, note 127a.

134. Creation, a *sport* of Siva—

एष एव च भगवान्शिवः स्वातन्त्र्याद्भोक्तृभोग्यलक्षणं प्रमातृप्रमेय युगलकं क्रीडनकमिवसमुत्थापयति यदपेक्षयाभेदप्रधानो व्यवहारः । (Com. P. S. 5.)

135. For निषेधव्यापाराशक्तिः, see, note 127h.

136. For पिधान, see, note 131, for creative Sakti as Maya, see, 127 j.

137. For the technical 'anugraha', see, note 131, also cf.—

प्रकाशाप्रकाशरूपे अनुग्रह तिरोधानशक्ति द्वे एव (P. S.)

ते मोक्षबन्ध······प्रविभागहेतू (Y. R. comm. on P. S. 5. 9.)

For the means of recognition, see, note 127 m. The means of recognition, commensurate with 'Anugraha'—

परमार्थमार्गमेनं झटितियदागुरुमुखात् समभ्येति । अतितीव्रशक्तिपातात् तदैवनिर्विघ्नमेवशिवः (P.S. 96.) (Com अतिशयेनतीव्रः अनुग्रहाख्यायाः पारमेश्वर्याः शक्तेःपातः······ । अयमर्थः परमेश्वरानुग्रहोपाय एव स्वात्मज्ञानलाभः इति न अत्रनियतिशक्तिसमुत्थं जपध्यानयज्ञादिकं उपायतया क्रमते ।)

Kalidasa has also—

यःस्थाणुःस्थिरभक्तियोगसुलभः । (V.V.I. 1.)

138. *Recognition*, the only way to realization of Love.

अथवाईदृशोनुरागोऽभिज्ञानमपेक्षते,

कथमिवैतत् (Sak. VI. Sanumati.) cf. 127 l and 129.

139. The Abhasa vada—

आदर्शमलरहिते यद्वद्वदनं विभाति तद्वद् अयम् ।

शिवशक्ति पातविमले धीतत्वे भाति भारूपः ॥ P. S. 9.

Com. शिवस्यस्वात्मनो या असौ अनुग्रहाख्या शक्तिः तस्याः पातः स्वकिरण विस्फारः, तेन संमार्जितेप्रतिभामुकुरे आणवमायीय कार्ममलवासना प्रक्षयाद् विशदीकृते भारूपः स्वात्मा अवभासते । केषांचिदेव परमेश्वर तिरोधानशक्त्या आणवमायीय कार्ममलसमाच्छादिते बुद्धितत्वे भारूपोऽपि आत्मा मालिन्यात् भातोऽपि अभातकल्पः ॥ अन्येऽपि उभयशक्तियोगात् प्रमातार आरुरुक्षवः ॥ ...इत्थं शक्तिपात वैचित्र्यं सर्वत्रापि ऊह्यम् ॥ अत्र न मायान्तःपातिनियतिशक्तिसमुत्थम् अश्वमेधादिकं जपध्यानादि वा अन्यतयत्किंचित् कर्ममोचनहेतुः आत्मनः, तस्य हि मायातः समुत्तीर्ण त्वात्, भेदप्रधानं वस्तु तत्साधनाय न कल्पते, तस्मादेकमेव अत्र परमेश्वरानुग्रहः कारणं अकृत्रिमम् भव्यबुद्धीनाम् ॥ यदुक्तम्

ईशितुःशक्तिपातांशे ख्यापयित्री स्वतन्त्रताम् ।

धीः कारणकलाघ्राता नैव किंचिदपेक्षते ॥

140. Siva, the Kartā :—

कर्तरि ज्ञातरि स्वात्मन्यादिसिद्धेमहेश्वरे ।

अजडात्मा निषेधं वा सिद्धिं वा विदधीत कः ॥ Is. Pr. 1, 1. 2.

140*a*. Siva maintains both the states :—

तस्मादेतदेव परमेश्वरस्य स्वातन्त्र्यं निरतिशयम् यत् पूर्णस्वरूपतापरि त्यागे भोक्तृभोग्यस्वभावं पशुभावमापन्नोऽपि सर्वप्रमातॄणां अनुभवितृ- तया स्वात्मनि प्रस्फुरन् चिदानन्दैकघनः शिव एव (P. S. com.)

141. Shastra or Guru or ones own Pratyaya, as means of recognition. In the case of Dushyanta it is his own 'Pratyaya' in the form of the ring that brings recognition.

एष प्रमाता मायान्धः संसारी कर्मबन्धनः ।

विद्याभिज्ञापितैश्वर्यश्चिद्घनोमुक्तउच्यते ॥ Is. Pr. II. 3, 2, 2.

शास्त्रगुरुस्वप्रत्ययसिद्धोऽयमर्थः । Is. Pr. II. 4, 2, 1.

142. See, note 129.

142*a*. सहिपूर्वानुभूतार्थोपलब्धापरतोऽपिसन् ।

विमृशन् स इति स्वैरी स्मरतीत्युपदिश्यते ॥ (Is. Pr. I. 4, 1.)

Kalidasa agrees with the Pratyabhijna philosophy in considering *memory* as the essential power of soul.

143. *Recognition leads to realization*—

सर्वोत्तीर्णरूपं सोपानपदक्रमेण संश्रयतः ।

परतत्त्वरूढिलाभे पर्यन्तेशिवमयीभावः ॥ P. S. 97. also see, 127n.

इत्थं सकलविकल्पान् प्रतिबुद्धो भावनासमीरणतः ।

आत्मज्योतिषि दीप्ते जुहज्ज्योतिर्मयो भवति ॥ P. S. 68.

तत्र च परमात्ममहा—भैरवाशिवदेवतां स्वशक्तियुताम्

आत्मामर्शनविमलद्रव्यैःपरिपूजयन्नास्ते । P. S. 75.

इति जन्मनाशहीनंपरमार्थमहेश्वराख्यमुपलभ्य ।

उपलब्धृताप्रकाशात् कृतकृत्यस्तष्ठति यथेष्टम् P. S. 81.

आणवमायीयकार्ममलवासनाप्रक्षयाद्भारूपः स्वात्मा अवभासते (see, note 139.) देवादीनां च सर्वेषां, भविनां त्रिविधंमलं, तत्रापि कार्ममेवैकं मुख्यं संसारकारणम् (Is. Pr. 3, 2, 10.)

Realization of Sakti, in the case of Dushyanta is *gradual* (सोपान पदक्रमेण). His *Bhāvana* is strong and he occupies himself with the thought of Sakuntala by drawing her picture etc. (परिपूजयन्नास्ते) till the 'Mala' is destroyed by doing service to gods and by fighting against the enemies of Indra (self), and thus union with Sakuntala or realization (upalabdhi) of Sakti takes place.

144. Anugraha, an aspect of Sakti, see, note 131, 137—

परमेश्वरानुग्रहोपाय एव स्वात्मज्ञानलाभः इति न अत्र नियतिशक्तिसमुत्थजपध्यानयज्ञादिकं उपायतया क्रमते, अनुग्रहशक्तिविद्धहृदयस्य तु हठादेव अक्रमंदेवतामुखाम्नायरहस्यं हृदयं आवर्जयाति तेन झटिति एव परमेश्वरीभावं याति। P. S. 96 com.

The anugraha of Kashyapa, is described in the Sak., as above the ordinary law of cause and effect—

निमित्तनैमित्तकयोरयंक्रमः तव प्रसादस्य पुरस्तुसंपदः। Sak. VII. 30

like the anugraha in the Pratyabhijna philosophy that is also अक्रम and not bound by नियति or cansation, see, note 139 अवबमायान्तः......

145. Note the Abhasa doctrine:—

शापादसिप्रतिहतास्मृतिरोधरूक्षे। भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुतातवैव।
छाया न मूर्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे शुद्धेतुदर्पणतले सुलभावकाशः॥
Sak. VII 32.

cf. अप्रत्यभिज्ञातात्मपरमार्थानां समलोव्यवहारः।
अन्येषां स एव निर्मलः। Is. P. 1, 7, 14 com.

and see, note 127f, 139, and infra 159.

146. 'Apparent division' or 'Experience' a source of strength to the Divine Unity, (see 127g, 129) cf. Kalidasa

एष विवाद एव प्रत्याययति। Sak. VII. see, pp. 34, Sak. VII.22 प्रियेक्रौर्यमपि मे त्वयि प्रयुक्तमनुकूलपरिणामंसंवृत्तम्, यदहमिदानीं त्वया प्रत्यभिज्ञातमात्मानं पश्यामि। Sak. VII).

एतस्मान् मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा
मा कौलीनाच्चकितनयने मय्यविश्वासिनीभूः।
स्नेहानाहुः किमपि विरहव्यापदस्तेह्यभोग्या
दृष्टे वस्तुन्युपचितरसाः प्रेमराशीभवन्ति ॥ M.D. utt. 49.

अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मिदासः
क्रीतस्तपोभिरिति वादिनि चन्द्रमौलौ।
अन्हाय सा नियमजं क्लममुत्ससर्ज
क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते ॥ K. S. V. 86.

रथाङ्गनाम्नोरिव भाववन्धनम् बभूव यत् प्रेमपरस्पराश्रयम्।
विभक्तमप्येक सुतेन तत्तयोः परस्परस्योपरिपर्यचीयत ॥
R. V. III. 24.

For the Pratyabhijna doctrine, see, note 127*q*—
स्वातन्त्र्य महिम्ना प्रकाशते।
also see, note 129—
देवताप्रार्थना दूतीप्रेषणात्मावस्थानिवेदनाभिः तन्व्या इति विरहक्लशाया प्रत्यभिज्ञानमात्रादानन्दलाभः परिशीलनात् तु संभोगसहस्रप्राप्तिः ॥
also cf. for the necessity of experience in the Pratyabhijna—
ईश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञा च शक्त्याविष्करण द्वारेण, सा च शक्तिर्ज्ञानक्रियारूपा शक्त्याविष्कारे स्वरूपप्रत्याभिज्ञासिद्धा। (Is. Pr. vi I. 1.6.11.)

Thus experience of creation enriches life, and is a necessity for purposes of joy of *recognition.* The Abhasa vada teaches; experience abides स्वातन्त्र्यमहिम्नाप्रकाशते (note 127*g*) also see, note 159.

147. For service of Humanity, as the object-lesson of the Pratyabhijna, see, note 127 (*o*) and 127 (*n*)—जानाति च करोति च

148. Kalidasa must have watched much more carefully the weakning influence of Buddhism on the society at his home in Kashmir, about which it is said,

प्राज्ये राज्यक्षणेतेषां प्रायः कश्मीर मण्डलं।
भोज्यमास्तेस्म बौद्धानां प्रव्रज्योर्जित तेजसां ॥ (R. T. 1, 171.)

The Pratyabhijna philosophy does not teach renunciation like Buddhism, on the contrary, it teaches expansion of physical, mental, and spiritual powers of man as necessary for realization of self—

—ज्ञानक्रियाशक्त्याविष्कारे स्वरूपप्रत्यभिज्ञा सिद्धा (see, note 146.)

It is in this spirit that Parvati is asked by Siva (in disguise,) to regulate her penances—

शरीरमाद्यं खलु धर्म साधनं (K. S.)

though her penances are in no way an end in themselves as "physical tortures"—they are subservient to her burning devotion—

भावैकरसंमनः (K. S.)

149. For worship of Siva as Asta murti in Kashmir, see, N. M. 1283.

150. The *Curse of Durvasa.*

विचिन्तयन्ती यमनन्यमनसा, तपोधनं वेत्सि न मामुपस्थितं ।
स्मरिष्यति त्वां न स बोधितोऽपिसन्
कथांप्रमत्तः प्रथमं कृतामिव ॥ Sak. IV, I.

Its modification.

किन्तुअभिज्ञानाभरणादर्शनेन शापोनिवर्तिष्यत इति ।

The curse may be explained in the light of the Pratyabhijna as below. We notice in the Drama, that Sakuntala, as she has met Dushyanta, is already big with child before the curse comes to stand in the way of her living in company with Dushyanta at his capital. In the Pratyabhijna, 'Niyati' or Necessity for the curse of separation arises as the Sakti is employed in the work of creation of the many out of the one, which negatives the subjective unity—

निषेधव्यापारा पारमेश्वरी शक्तिः । note 135.

The curse stands for Maya the 'Mohini' Sakti of Siva *(127j)* Niyati, which makes creation possible (P. S. 16) the *Pidhana* (note 137) which obscures 'memory'. It is *withdrawn* in order to give room to the Anugraha Sakti of Siva (note 127k, 131, 137) which restores memory by means of recognition (note 127d, 129, 141) Memory, thus, is the power of Siva himself, (which is obscured and lighted up, under the Pidhana or Anugraha Sakti)—

—cf. सहिपूर्वानुभूतार्थोपलब्धापरतोऽपिसन् ।
विमृशन् स इति स्वैरीस्मरतीत्युपदिश्यते ॥ Is. Pr I. 1, 4, 1.
स एव परमेश्वरः स्मरति । Pr vi. I. P. 119.
स्मरणशक्तिरेव हि परमं स्वातन्त्र्यम् Pr. vi. 116.

Now memory works in the following manner:—

पूर्वानुभवसंस्कारात् स्मृतिसंभवः । Ibid 1, 2, 5.

पूर्वानुभूतस्य अर्थस्य य उपलब्धा अन्तर्मुखोबोधः
स स्मृतिकालेऽपिअस्त्येव ॥ Ibid 1, 41, Com.

But मायापरिग्रहवशाद्द बोधोमलिनः, पुमान् पशुर्भवति ।
कालकलानियतिवशाद् रागाविद्यावशेनसंबद्धः ॥ P. S. 16.

Thus follows the obscuration of memory, or

अनुभूतस्यविषयस्य प्रमोषः, कश्चितकालंमध्येमुषितस्येव
नपूर्णः प्रमोषोऽपहारः, पुनःप्रकाशनेनलाभादिति स्मृतेः मुख्यं रूपं ।

Is. Pr. vi. pp. 100.

Recognition restores memory.—

किन्तुमोहवशादस्मिन् दृष्टेऽप्यनुपलक्षिते ।
शक्त्याविष्करणेनेयं प्रत्यभिज्ञोपदर्श्यते ॥ Ibid, 1, 1, 3.

Means of recognition—

एकवारं प्रमाणेन शास्त्राद् वा गुरुवाक्यतः ।
ज्ञानेशिवत्वे सर्वस्थे प्रतिपत्यादृढात्मना ॥ S. D.

शास्त्रगुरुस्वप्रत्ययसिद्धोऽयमर्थः—Is. Pr. vi.

Recognition the only way to Realization—

येऽपिशापादिना वा मूढाः सन्तोऽपि प्रागभ्यस्तस्वात्मज्ञानवासना प्रबोधा
नुगृहीताः स्वात्मस्थितिं लभन्ते । सर्वेस्वात्ममहेश्वरप्रत्यभिज्ञानात्
तन्मया भवन्ति । (see, note 127 *l.*)

Recognition synchronous with Anugraha.

नचैतदप्रसन्नेन शङ्करेणोपदिश्यते ।
कथंचिदुपलब्धेऽपि वासना न प्रजायते ॥
वासनामात्रलाभेऽपियोऽप्रमत्तो न जायते ।
तमनित्येषु भोगेषु योजयन्तिविनायकाः ॥ Is. Pr. vi. vi. vol II. 272.
परमेश्वरानुग्रहोपाय एव स्वात्मज्ञानलाभः इति (P.S. Com. 96.)

(cf. Anugraha of Kashyapa in Sak. VII.)

The above tenet of the Pratyabhijna may be distinguished from the Vedantic school of philosophy. To the Vedanta, Atma is knowledge itself— ज्ञान स्वरूप., but to the Pratyabhijna, Jnana or knowledge is the Sakti of Siva or Atma, and Smriti too is the *power* of self which gets obscured under the influence of Pidhana. Hence, arises the need of recognition which restores the impaired memory. Thus the teaching of Kalidasa is quite in keeping with the Pratyabhijna philosophy. The curse has distinctly a philosophical bearing, here, as well as in other works of Kalidasa, which will be described later on (see, note 165—168). The memory of Dushyanta can not be considered as obliterated by a *meaningless* curse in the Drama of the *great* Kalidasa. Thus the Pratyabhijna has it—

न च ध्वंसन्ताम् इति भवदभीष्टशापमात्रात् ते स्मरणमया व्यवहाराः विध्वंसन्ते प्रकाशन्ते (Is. Pr. V. I. p. 106.)

(अस्मदभिमतप्रकारेणविना विधेरपि अशक्यसमर्थनम् Ibid.)

The curse of Durvasa is *real* and philosophical indeed !

150*a*. Kalidasa at the very outset of the Drama compares Dushyanta with Siva—

कृष्णसारेददच्चक्षुस्त्वयिचाधिज्यकार्मुके ।

मृगानुसारिणंसाक्षात् पश्यामीवपिनाकिनम् ॥ Sak. I. 6.

151. The unity of Jnana and Kriya according to the Pratyabhijna:—

एवमन्तर्वहिर्वृत्तिःक्रियाकालक्रमानुगा ।

मातुरेवतदन्योन्यावियुक्तेज्ञानकर्मणी ॥ Is. P. II. 3, 1, 1.

भगवत एव परमशिवस्यज्ञानक्रियायोगः ।

ज्ञानंविमर्शानुप्राणितं, विमर्श एव च क्रिया इति न च ज्ञानशक्तिविहीनस्य क्रियायोगः । Ibid II. pp. 190.

The plural form in अर्हतां प्रायसरः might suggest the various Budhist Arhats who worked as missionaries under the leadership of Nagarjuna in Kashmir whose famous residence is noted in history as षडर्हद्वन or modern Harvan in Kashmir. (Stein R. T. II. 455.) Does Kalidasa advise the Cloud to avoid the Budhist missionaries, who were spread in the country in Kashmir and outside:—

दिङ्नागानां पथिपरिहरन् स्थूलहस्तावलेपान् । (M. D. 14.)

The suggestion gains ground, if we interpret the अभिज्ञान of the Meghaduta (see, note 166) in its philosophical sense, which is preached by Kalidasa in all his works, and which might have been controverted by the followers of the Budhist Nagarjuna.

For the spread of Budhism in Kashmir, see, R. T. I. 171—184.

सचनागार्जुनः श्रीमान्षडर्हद्वनसंश्रयः, तस्मिन्नवसरेबौद्धादेशेप्रबलतांययुः, नागार्जुनेन सुधियावोधिसत्वेनपालिताः । see, R. T. I. 171—184.

151*a*. Here Sakuntala is not accepted as (सहधर्मचारिणी) The Veil of forgetfulness—however Gautami may have tried to remove it (अवगंठनम्) at this stage, when Sakuntala has not yet delivered herself of a child; can not be removed till the charge of creation is over and experience is gained or the pidhana aspect of Sakti has given room to the Anugraha, which makes recognition possible.

152. Com. उपरिहिमस्याच्छादकस्य शापस्थानीयत्वात् त्यागाभावः, विभातेइत्युक्तेतदनन्तरं रविकिरणैर्हिमेनीते मकरन्दभोगोऽवश्यः ।

एवमिहापि, अभिज्ञानदर्शनेन शापेगते तत्स्वीकारोऽवश्य इति द्योतयन्त्योपमया रतेः स्थायित्वदार्ढ्यं ध्वनितम् । एतेन संशयनामकं भूषणमुपक्षिप्तम् । (Sak. V. 19. .Com. of Raghava Bhatta.

cf. definition of Smriti in the Pratyabhijna Sastra—

अनुभूतस्य विषयस्य असंप्रमोषः कश्चित्कालंमध्ये मुषितस्येव ,
नपूर्णः प्रमोषोऽपहारः पुनः प्रकाशनेन लाभादिति ॥ Pr. vi. vi. pp. 100,

152*a*. A case of gradual 'Realization' through recognition, cf.

अनुग्रहश्चक्रमिकः अक्रमिकश्च (Is.Pr. vi. vi. pp. 204) also see,127n

152*b*. 'Mala' an impediment to self-realization—

देवादीनां च सर्वेषां भविनां त्रिविधंमलं ।
तत्रापिकार्ममेवैकं मुख्यं संसार कारणं ॥ Is. Pr. II. 3, 2, 10.

मोहावरणात् सिद्धिर्भवति नतु तत्वप्रकाशः, विगलितमोहस्यतु धारणादिभिरपि परतत्वसमावेश एव भवति । (S. S. 6.)

152*c*. For singleness of devotion to God, see, note 143.

153. Creation not futile, see, note 146, 127g.

153*a*. See, note 153, also compare,

अलंविवादेनयथाश्रुतस्त्वया तथाविधस्तावदशेषमस्तुसः ।
ममात्रभावैकरसंमनः स्थितं न कामवृत्तिर्वचनीयमीक्षते ॥ K.S.V.82.

154. Aparajita, a name of Siva in a pratyabhijna treatise—

सजयत्यपराजितः । (S. C. 2.)

Aparajitā, a medicinal herb – Clitoria; a talisman fastened round the neck of children to ward off demons; cf.

اپراجتا—شاخہائے این در گردن اطفال طوق کردن - دافع آسیب و دیو است۔
محیط اعظم صفحہ ۱۱۸ مطبع نظامی ۱۳۰۳ھ

155. For Sammoha, see, note 127j.

156. For joy of recognition, see, note 129, 146.

157. For Anugraha as above the order (क्रम) of law of causation (नियतिः) see, note 144.

158. जगत् चित्रम् (S.C. 9) चित्रमितिनियतिरूपत्वात् Is.Pr.V.I.pp.134

विश्ववैचित्र्यचित्रस्य, समभित्तितलोपमे ।
विरुद्धाभावसंस्पर्शे, परमार्थसतीश्वरे ॥ (Is. Pr. II. 2, 3, 15.)

158*a*. Freedom of Siva unaffected—स्वातन्त्र्यमहिम्ना प्रकाशते (note 127e) also see, note 140a.

159. शापादसि प्रतिहतास्मृतिरोधरुक्षे
भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव
छाया न मूर्छति मलोपहत प्रसादे
शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशः। (Sak. VII. 32.)

Compare the above with the Abhas vada of the Pratyabhijna philosophy, note 127f, 139. The following is its interpretation in the light of the Pratyabhijna Shastras.

First line:—शाप or curse, (see, note 150, 127l.) as usual, stands for

निषेधव्यापारापारमेश्वरीशक्तिः (note 127h)

known as तिरोधानकरीमायाभिधा। (Is. Pr. II. 3, 1, 7.)

स्मृतिः—स्मृतिशक्तिश्च परमेश्वरस्यैव—आमृशति, अनुभवति स्मरति चेति।

(Pr. vi I. p. 146.) स्मरणशक्तिरेव हि परमं स्वातन्त्र्यम् Ibid pp.116.

आगामिकाः स्मरणमेवमन्त्रादि प्राणितं (शुद्धविद्यापरामर्श प्राणितं) मन्यन्ते Ibid pp. 120.

रोध-तिरोधानकरीमाया। पिधानं नाम संस्कारमात्रतया स्थितस्यापि विलीनीकरणं (note 131) also see, note 137.

Second line:—भर्ता stands for शिवभट्टारकः, the term frequently used in the Pratyabhijna for Isvara, e. g;

यः प्रकाशः, स भर्तुः अन्तराभासान् बिभ्रतः, बहिः सृष्टिं च पुष्णतः ईश्वरस्यैव इच्छया। (Is. Pr. I. pp. 334.)

तमस्—मोहस्तमो वरणकः प्रकाशाभावयोगतः (Tantral. Ahn. 9.)

क्रमेण सुखदुःखमोहलक्षणानि प्रकाशक्रियानियमनशीलानि सत्त्वरजस्तमांसि (Is. Pr.)

We are told in the Pratyabhijna that—

चेतनो हि स्वात्मदर्पणेभावान् प्रतिबिम्बवदाभासयति (Is. Pr.)

and स (भावः) तमसेव आच्छाद्य अवस्थापितः संस्कारशब्दवाच्यः तस्य तमाच्छादकं अपहस्तयति, तत्र अपहस्तिते स पूर्ववदाभाति (Is. Pr.)

एवं च स परमेश्वरः स्मरति (Is. Pr.)

thus, अनुभव संस्काराल स्मृतो विषयप्रकाशः। (Is. Pr.),

hence, स्मरणानुभवयोर्मेलनात्मकं प्रत्यभिज्ञानम्। Is. Pr.

प्रभुता—The Pratyabhijna leads to cessation of world and the ultimate Unity, when Sakti is said to have her hold on Siva—

विश्वस्य हि स्फुटत्वं बाह्यमुन्मेषणं, निमेषणं तु अस्फुटत्वापादनं, तत्र अस्फुटत्वे इच्छाशक्तिरीश्वरस्य व्याप्रियते, स्फुटत्वे ज्ञानशक्तिः ।

(Is. Pr.)

3rd line—छाया stands for स्मृतिः or memory—

compare—अन्यत्र अनुभवतरि स्मर्ता अन्यो न उपपद्यते,

इत्यनया च्छायया स्मृत्या प्रमातृसिद्धिः (Is. Pr. 299).

again—यैव वहिः पूर्वानुभूतार्थपरामर्शमयी सैवान्तारूपा विमर्शशक्ति स्वभावा स्मृतिः, इत्युच्यते (Is. Pr.) विमर्शबलादेवभेदाभेद-व्यवस्था—आभासविमर्शयोरन्योन्यम् अवियोगात् (Is. Pr)

Memory of the identity of self or Recognition does not take place, as long as 'Mala' obstructs the serenity of reflection.

मल—देवादीनां च सर्वेषां भविनां त्रिविधं मलं ।

तत्रापि कार्ममेवैकं मुख्यं संसार कारणम् ॥ (Is. Pr II. 3, 2, 10.)

अप्रत्यभिज्ञातात्मपरमार्थानां समलोव्यवहारः अन्येषां स एव निर्मलः ।

(Is. Pr. vi I. p. 315.)

स व्यवहारः स्वपरमात्मनि मलशोधनबोधनैकघनत्वात् विमल एव युक्तः

Is. Pr. vi. vi. p. 312.

प्रसादः—or अनुग्रह शक्तिः that remains suspended, as long as the Mala is there. The अनुग्रह finally leads to Realization—

अनुग्रहः स्वात्मतादात्म्यतयावस्थापनमिति (note 131.)

4th line शुद्धः—stands for प्रकाश or light of knowlege.

cf. आदर्शमलरहिते यद्वद्वदनं विभाति तद्वदयम् ।

शिवशक्तिपातविमले धीतत्वे भाति भारूपः ॥ (P. S. 9.)

also अन्तर्विभाति सकलं जगदात्मनीह

यद्वद्विचित्ररचना मकुरान्तराले ।

बोधः पुनर्निजविमर्शनसारयुक्त्या

विश्वं परामृशति नो मकुरस्तथा तु ॥ (विवृतिविमर्शिनी)

प्रकाशःस्वचमत्कार सारः स्वेच्छया स्वात्मभित्तौ अभेदेन परामृशन् संविदुपादानमेव विश्वं आभासयति । (P. S. Com. 9.)

दर्पणतले—stands for Samvid.

संविदेव विश्वमात्मनिभासयति—शक्तिवैचित्र्यात् (Pr. vi. 141.)

एवंसममेव स्वात्मनि विमलमकुरस्थानीये यद् युगलकं स्वस्मात् प्रकाश रूपादव्यतिरिक्तं अवभासयति परमेश्वरः, तदेव एतद्भगवतोज्ञानकर्तृत्वं स्मरण कर्तृत्वं (Pr. vi. 149.)

ज्ञानं विमर्शानुप्राणितं (विमर्शशक्तिः स्वभावास्मृतिः) साहिशक्तिरन्तरवभासमानाज्ञानशक्तिर्बहिर्भावरूपेणक्रियाशक्तिरितिउच्यते Is.Pr.II.189-190

यदेतदाभासनंयासाविच्छा साक्रिया, अस्यभगवतो निर्मातृत्वम् । (Ibid 136)

अवकाश—stands for clear आभास or विश्रान्तिः ।

सैव (स्फुरत्ता) प्रकाशस्य विमर्शाव्यतिरेकत्वात् विमर्शात्मकचमत्काररूपा सती क्रियाशक्ति रुच्यते, परौन्मुख्यत्यागेन स्वात्मविश्रान्तिरूपत्वाच्चसैव आनन्दः, तदेवं भगवतश्चिदात्मतयैवेयद्रूपता । Is.Pr. II. p. 257.

भगवत एव परमशिवस्यज्ञानक्रियायोगः । (Ibid 189.)

Thus, Kashyapa expounds the Abhasa vada of the Pratyabhijna philosophy of Kashmir.

160. Experience synthetically related to the experiencer, see, note 146.

161. As God's Anugraha brings salvation to man, so man must show his 'anugraha' to his fellow-men, for Service to humanity the object lesson of the Pratyabhijna, see, note 127 (o). The Trika of the Pratyabhijna philosophy (the trinity (नरशक्ति शिवात्मकम्) may also be noted in the concluding line of the Drama—

ममापि चक्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं परिगतशक्तिरात्मभूः—

signifying the unity of the emancipated soul of Kalidasa (नर) and Siva Sakti, in one person, (परिगतशक्तिः) Atma—Bhuh.

162. See note 131.

162*a*. For unity of Kriya and Jnana, see, note 151.

162*b*. For invention of 'curse' in the drama by Kalidasa, see, note 134*a*. Kalidasa who has a problem of recognition (or Pratyabhijna) to solve beneath the love-slory of Sakuntala used the 'curse' in its philosophical sense, and not as mere imprecation—

—cf. नचध्वंसन्ताम् इति भवदभीष्टशापमात्रात् (स्मरणमयाव्यवहाराः) ध्वंसन्ते प्रकाशन्ते.........अस्मदभिमतप्रकारेण विना विधेरपि अशक्य समर्थनम् । (Is. Pr. I. pp. 106.)

'Curse' known to the pratyabhijna works—

—cf. येऽपि .....शापादिना.. मूढाःसन्तः प्रागस्यस्तस्वात्मज्ञानवासना

प्रबोधानुगृहीता, स्वात्मस्थितिंलभन्ते । सर्वेस्वात्ममहेश्वर प्रत्यभिज्ञानात् तन्मया भवन्ति (Y. R. Com. on P. S. 82.)

For the Philosophical meaning of curse in other works of Kalidasa, see, note 165—168.

163. 'Agamas' should be learnt from a Guru—

स्वतोऽपि गुरुतः शास्त्राद्विमर्शस्त्रिविधः स्मृतः, स्वप्रत्ययस्यसिद्धस्यापि गुरुपरम्परोपदेश उपोद्बलकोवक्तव्यः······तस्माद्गुरुक्रमायातं दिशन्नेति परं शिवम् । गुरुर्वा पारमेश्वरी आनुग्राहिकाशक्तिः (Is.Pr. vi. vi. 4, 2, 1.) गुरूरूपायः (S. S.)

Dushyanta who gets recognition of Sakuntala through his own *Pratyaya*, the finger-ring, has to wait upon Kashyapa—visit to whose Asrama serves as an 'Upāya' to the attainment of Sakuntala;—whose Anugraha, in the words of Dushyanta, leads to the greatest joy of his life (परं शिवम्) or meeting with Sakuntala, and who expounds to him the Pratyabhijna doctrine of Abhasa, that explains the riddle of life.

164. Love-metaphor, used, to explain the secret of recognition of God's power in man, by the teachers of the Pratyabhijna philosophy and Kalidasa both; see, note 129.

164*a*. See note 148, for the conception of Maya as different from that of the Vedanta philosophy, see, 127 (g) (j)

165. In five out of his seven works, Kalidasa is busy in solving the various problems of the Pratyabhijna, see, notes 165—168. With each of his succeeding works (M. M., M. D., V. U., K. S., Sak.) his knowledge of details of the philosophy grows in depth and exactness, which in the Sakuntala, reaches its perfection, so that Kalidasa is now ready to pray for himself—

ममापि च क्षपयतु नीललोहितः पुनर्भवं ।

But the 'Āgama Vriddha' of Raghuvansa (VI. 41) who has no more to write on his favourite theme of life, is spared a few more years to pray his favourite deity in terms of his philosophy.—

(वागर्थाविवसंपृक्तौ) जगतः पितरौवन्दे पार्वती परमेश्वरौ। cf. note 170.

The 'Recognitive system of Kashmir' was so indelibly rooted in the mind of Kalidasa—whether in his adventurous days of youth or in declining old age, whether he is in a hot country or cold that he always clung to it. Through the powers of his art, he managed to preach the wisdom of that Kashmirian philosophy which give wings to his poetry.

For the Pratyabhijna in the Malavikagni Mitra, read—

मालविका (आत्मगतं), किं नु खलु साम्प्रतं भर्ताभणति।

राजा—प्रेष्य भावेन नामेयं देवीशब्दक्षमासती ।

स्नानीयवस्त्र क्रियया पत्रोर्णं वोपयुज्यते ॥ M. M. 5, 12.

धारणी—भगवति त्वयाभिजनवतीं मालविकां अनाचक्षाणयाऽसांप्रतम्कृतम्

परिव्राजकः-इयं पितरि जीवति केनापि सिद्धादेशेन साधुनामत्समक्षं आदिष्टा संवत्सर मात्रं प्रेष्यभावमनुभूय ततः सदृशभर्तृगामिनी भविष्यति । तदवश्यं भाविनं आदेशंअस्या स्त्वत्पादशुश्रूषया परिणमन्तमवेक्ष्य कालप्रतीक्षया मया तत् साधु कृतमिति पश्यामि ।

राजा—युक्तोपेक्षा ।

देवी—इदानीं आर्यपुत्रःप्रतीच्छतु ।

राजा—देवि त्वत् शासनाद प्रत्युत्तरावयं ।

....

परिव्रा०—हन्त प्रतिगृहीता ।

राजा—त्वं मे प्रसाद सुमुखि भव चण्डिनित्यं

एतावदेव मृगये प्रतिपक्ष हेतोः । M. M. V. 20.

Here the 'Siddha Adesha' of the Sadhu stands fo the 'curse' of 'separation' which brings about 'non-recognition' of Malavika *as princess* (see note 150). Union as in Sak. (mark Sanumati's speech—

तद्युक्त मेतत् कालं प्रतिपालयितुम् ।)

takes place at a fixed period only after the 'curse' is over and Malavika is *pointed* out as the princess of Vidarbha (see note 129.) The King is ultimately favoured by the Prasada or Anugraha aspect of Sakti (सुमुखि) whose terrible aspect of obstruction चंडि in the path of union is now exhausted. (cf. निषेध व्यापारा शक्तिः 127h.) In Kalidasa, 'Sumukhi,' here, as well as in Sak. VII 22 (प्रमुखे स्थितासि मे सुमुखि) stands for the Anugraha aspect of Sakti, while चंडि here as well as in (M. D. U. 41,) stands for the Pidhana (see note, 137.)

166. Pratyabhijna in the Meghaduta:—

(1) शापेनास्तंगमितमहिमा । M. D. 1,

(2) एतस्मान् मां कुशलिनमभिज्ञानदानाद्विदित्वा

मा कौलीनाच्चकितनयने मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः ।

स्नेहानाहुः किमपिविरहव्यापदस्तेह्यभोग्या

दृष्टे वस्तुन्युपचितरसाःप्रेमराशी भवन्ति ॥ M. D. U. 49.

(3) साभिज्ञान प्रहित कुशलैस्तद्वचोभिर्ममापि

प्रातःकुन्दप्रसवशिथिलं जीवितं धारयेथाः ॥ M. D. U. 50.

4. शापान्तोऽमे ...... शेषान्मासान् गमय ...लोचनेमीलयित्वा Ibid 47.
Compare with the pratyabhijna.

cf. (1) विशुद्धःस्वभावःशवात्मा मायापदेतु संकुचितस्वभावः पशुः ।
Is. Pr. II. 39.

(2) Faith in existence of reality, is instructed—मा मय्यविश्वासिनीभूः, for the period of 'curse' or separation is bound to be over and as it is said in the V. U.; Anugraha form of Sakti is certain to bring reunion,—

अवश्यं किमपि अनुग्रहनिमित्तं भूयोऽपिसमागमकारणं भविष्यति ।

cf. note 131.

(3) दूतीप्रेषणात्मावस्थानिवेदनाभिः तन्व्या इति विरहकृशायाः प्रत्यभिज्ञानमात्रादानन्दलाभः परिशीलनात् तु संभोगसहस्रप्राप्तिः तथा स्वात्मनि विश्वेश्वरे । see, note 129.

(4) Reunion takes place after the fixed period of 'curse' is over, see, note 150.

167. For the Pratyabhijna in the Vikrama Urvasi, read—

चित्र०--ततोभर्तुरनुनयं अप्रतिपद्यमाना गुरु शाप संमूढ हृदया स्त्रीजन परिहरणीयं कुमारवनं प्रविष्टा । प्रवेशानन्तरं च कारणान्तर परिवर्तिना लताभावेन परिणतं अस्यारूपम् ॥ (V.V. IV.)

सह०—नास्ति विधेरलंघनीयम् । तस्यानुरागस्य अयं नाम एकपद ईदृशोऽनर्थः* ॥

सह०--†अवश्यं किमपिअनुग्रहनिमित्तंभूयोऽपि समागम कारणं भविष्यति

(नेपथ्ये) वत्स गृह्यतां । संगमनीय इति मणिः । V. V. IV.

शैलसुता चरणरागयोनि रयम्, आवहति धार्यमाणः
संगममं अचिरात् प्रियजनेन । IV. 36.

राजा—(कर्णदत्वा) कोनुखलुमां एवं अनुशास्ति । अये अनुकम्पते मां कश्चिन् मृगचारीमुनिर्भगवान् । भगवन् अनुगृहीतोस्म्यहम् उपदेशात् भवतः । ....

राजा—कथं सत्यमेवप्रियतमा ।

उर्व०—(वाष्पं विसृज्य) जयतु जयतु महाराजः ।

राजा—त्वद्वियोगोद्भवे तन्वि मया तमसि मज्जिता ।
दिष्ट्या प्रत्युपलब्धासिचेतनेव गतासुना ॥ IV. 40.

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*cf. अथवा ईदृशोऽनुरागोऽभिज्ञानमपेक्षते—Sanumati Sak. VI.

†cf. मा मय्यविश्वासिनी भूः......शेषान् मासान् गमय—M. D.

राजा—कल्याणि नतावदहं प्रसादयितव्यः। त्वद्दर्शनादेवप्रसन्नबाह्यान्तः—करणोन्तरात्मा। कथय, कथं इयन्तं कालं अवस्थिता मया विनाभवती।

उर्व०—शृणोतु महाराजः। भगवता कुमारेण कृतश्चैष विधिः, या एतं प्रदेशं स्त्री प्रवेक्ष्यति सा लता भावेन परिणंस्यति, गौरीचरण संभवं मणिंविना ततोनमोक्ष्यत इति—सा हं गुरुशापसंमूढहृदया देवतासमयं विस्मृत्यअगृहीतानुनया कुमारवनं प्रविष्टा। प्रवेशानन्तरमेव वासन्ती लता संवृत्ता।

राजा— सर्वमुपपन्नम्········ इदं तद् यथा कथितं, त्वत् संगमनिमित्तं मुनेरूपलभ्य मणिप्रभावादासादिता त्वं अस्माभिः।

उर्व०—अहो संगमनीयः। अतः खलु महाराजेन आलिङ्गितमात्रैव प्रकृतिस्थास्मि संवृत्ता॥

Thus the curse transforms Urvasi into a *creeper*,—the लता is very well understood by the students of Saivism, to signify शक्तिलता or the power that *creeps out*, the creative power of God, compare, N. M. 127

यदिच्छयाजगदिदंवर्वर्ति सचराचरं यस्यशक्तिलतासेऽयं, सूर्यचन्द्रात्मनः प्रभोः

Urvasi, the शक्तिलता, creeps away and Vainshes out of sight of Vikrama. 'Separation' takes place under 'curse', an inviolable *necessity*—a Vidhi that can not be transgressed. But the hope is held out for the manifestation of 'anugraha' and reunion by some means under it. A certain Muni shows his anugraha to Vikrama, gives him *upadesh*, and points out the Sangamaniyamani, which serves as a mean of recognition—like the Chintamani of the Agama writers—

ध्यानादि भावं स्मृतिरेव लब्ध्वा चिन्तामणिस्त्वद् विभवंव्यनक्ति।

(Is. Pr. I. quoted p. 120.)

and brings *upalabdhi* or reunion with its *joy* (note 133). Urvasi accounts for the whole phenomenon of change by attributing it to forget-fulness or *vismriti* of her *divine* nature under the influence of the inevitable curse of her *preceptor* (गुरुशाप संमूढ हृदया विस्मृत्य) Recovery of the original state of union was brought about by the potency of the Sangaminya - मणिप्रभावात् The son is further united with the parents—The joy of experience is thus narrated—दिष्ट्या पुत्रस्य युवराजश्रियाभर्तुरविरहेण वर्धसे The permanent union with (Sakti) Urvasi, is secured, as Vikrama (the brave soul) destroys the *enemies* of Indra (or Self), —namely the impurities of action कार्ममल that stands in the way of realization of Sakti or God's power.

For the Pratyabhijna doctrine, applied to above, see, our notes relating to it.

168. Pratyabhijna in the Kumara Sambhava:—
Parvati sets aside all testing arguments of, Siva in disguise, by the singleness of her devotion—

ममात्र भावैकरसं मनः स्थितम्* (R. S. V. 82.)

which leads to His recognition—

स्वरूपमास्थाय च तां कृतस्मितः समाललम्बे वृषराजकेतनः । 84.

which brings the surpreme joy—

शैलाधिराजतनया न ययौ न तस्थौ । 85.

puts an end to all *suffering*—

क्लेशः फलेन हि पुनर्नवतां विधत्ते ।

and ends in reunion or self-realization, when Sakti holds supreme—

अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः । see note 169.

169. **अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गि तवास्मि दासः** । K. S. V. 86.

भर्तुर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव । (Sak. VII. 32.)

indicate hold of Sakti on Siva, when union by recognition has taken place, cf.

विश्वस्य हि स्फुटत्वं बाह्यमुन्मेषणं, निमेषणं तु अस्फुटत्वापादनं, तत्र स्फुटत्वे इच्छाशक्ति रीश्वरस्य व्याप्रियते । (Is. Pr.)

Objective reality was an unfoldment of Iccha Sakti—

इच्छा शक्तिरेव इत्थंविजृम्भते (P. S. Com. Y. R.).

who having performed her charge of creation reverts to Siva, and in her subjective state of union with Siva, reigns supreme. also see Stein R.T.I. 122n.—The worship of the 'mothers' which is identical with that of the Saktis plays a great part in the Tantra ritual flourishing in Kashmir from ancient times, cf. worshipful description of the 'mothers,' and of Kāli in K. S. VIII 38, 39—तं मातरो

170. For the inseparable union of 'Vāk' and 'Artha' as Siva and Parvati, and the philosophic conception of Parāvāk—Pashyanti etc. see, Is. Pr. I. 238 sqq. S. C. com. K. R. pp. 5. also Kashmir Saivism by Mr. Chatterji pp. 4, 5.—'All transcending Word' (परा वाक् creating the objective universe, forms a 'vision' (पश्यन्ती वाक्) which when differentiated as 'this' or 'that' (मध्यमा वाक्) leads to the spoken word or वैखरी वाक्, that is, thought and experience

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* See note 143 and cf. the pratyabhijna teaching—इत्थं सकलविकल्पान् प्रतिबुद्धो भावना समीरणतः, आत्मज्योतिषि दीप्ते, शुद्धज्योतिर्मयो भवति ।

expressed by means of the vocal organ, for the attainment of which Kalidasa is praying (वागर्थ प्रति पत्तये) to Siva-parvati who are united as one in the transcendental state as वागर्थाविवसंपृक्तौ Thought and experience before they reached the Vaikhari stage, (at which Kalidasa is going to attempt) existed in the form of the Madhyamā vāk of Siva, whence they were taken and recorded as Saiva Sastras; and previous to it they existed in the Pasyanti form—the Avyakta, and ultimately existed in the Paravak, the transcendental unity of Siva and Parvati.

171. Meaning of Dāsa in the Pratyabhijna—

कथंचिदासाद्य महेश्वरस्य दास्यं जनस्याप्युपकारमिच्छन्। Is. Pr. I. 1,1.

Com. महेश्वरस्तस्यदास्यम्—दीयतेऽस्मैस्वामिना

सर्वं यथाभिलषितं इति दासः तस्यभावः।

Kāli a designation of Sakti in the Pratyabhijna—

श्रयेत् स्वातन्त्र्यशक्तिस्त्वां साकालीपराकला। स्वातन्त्र्यशक्तिः कलयति परामृशति,—क्षिपति विसृजति,—गणयतिजानीते च इति—काली, विश्वस्य अन्तर्बहीरूपतया पालनपूरणात्मकत्वात् परा इति। quoted in S.V. 13

The name Kalidasa is significant—as it designates the great *faith* of our poet which marks his whole poetry, as the name Vyasadasa is significant in the case of Kshemendra who did the work of a Vyasa in writing an abridged Mahabharata—महाभारत मञ्जरी

171*a*. Saivism of Kalidasa is marked with the worship of Sakti which form of Saivism, is current in Kashmir from the days of Nilmat to the present-times and to which form of Saivism, according to the Kashmirian tradition, the great Sankaracharya, who lived in the 8th cent. A. D. was also converted when he visited Kashmir, cf. in Kalidasa—

जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ।

the name *Kalidasa* itself; Siva's address to Parvati

अद्यप्रभृत्यवनताङ्गितवास्मिदासः।

the old Kashyapa's message to Sakuntala—

भर्तर्यपेततमसि प्रभुता तवैव।

the general behaviour of the heroes towards their heroines—

प्रसादमाकाङ्क्षतियस्तवोत्सुकः स किं त्वयादासजनः प्रसाद्यते।

V. U. III. 13.

आत्मानं तेचरणपतितं यावदिच्छामिकर्तुम् (M. D. U. 42.)

............'इति पादयोः पतति'—

all follow from the Pratyabhijna doctrine of Sakti as

हृदयं परमेष्ठिनः,—इच्छा शक्तिःव्याप्रियते । see, note 169, 127d.

172. The verses reveal the poet's own mood at the time, in that connection verse 44 is important—

त्वामालिख्यप्रणयकुपितां धातुरागैःशिलायां
आत्मानं ते चरणपतितं यावदिच्छामि कर्तुं ।
अस्रैस्तावन्मुहुरुपचितैर्दृष्टिरालुप्यते मे
क्रूरस्तस्मिन्नपि न सहते संगमं नौ कृतान्तः ॥ M. D. U. 42.

गामाकाशप्रणिहितभुजं निर्दयाश्लेषहेतो
र्लब्धायास्ते कथमपि मया स्वप्नसंदर्शनेषु ।
पश्यन्तीनां न खलु बहुशो न स्थलीदेवतानां
मुक्तास्थूलास्तरुकिसलयेष्वश्रुलेशाःपतन्ति ॥ M. D. U. 43.

भित्वासद्यःकिसलयपुटान्देवदारुद्रुमाणां
येतत्क्षीरस्रुतिसुरभयो दक्षिणेन प्रवृत्ताः ।
आलिङ्ग्यन्ते गुणवति मया ते तुषाराद्रिवाताः
पूर्वं स्पृष्टं यदिकिल भवेदङ्गमेभिस्तवेति ॥ M. D. U. 44.

173. For Wilson's remark, see Wilson's Meghaduta.

174. For the home sick condition of mind and the home in the Himalayas, see, note 172. The breezes fragrant with the juice of the Deva daru trees on the Himalayas, touching the body of the Yakshas' wife (enjoyed by Kalidasa at home in company with his wife) are remembered with a fine delicacy and described with a real pathos also marked by the concluding line of the Meghaduta—

मा भूदेवं क्षणमपि च ते विद्युता विप्रयोगः ॥

175. The Yaksha of Kalidasa is on all points the same as the one known to the Kashmirian tradition only.

Note the double-character of Yakshas in Kashmir, as in the Meghaduta, semi-divine and human: as attendants of the mythical Kuvera, their worship current in Kashmir; known to the Kashmirian tradition as troublesome at Alaka cf. यक्षग्रस्ता धनपतिपुरी (Bilhana, V. D. C. XVIII 15) note for further mythical description of the Yakshas by the Kashmirian writer Bilhana V. D. C. XVIII 55.

धृत्वा काश्चित् कनक कपिशाः कौतुकाद्यक्षकन्याः ।
प्रत्यागच्छन् धनपतिपुरादुत्तरं मानसं यः ॥

As human beings, Yakshas are said to be the sons of Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir—

यक्षाश्चरात्तसाश्चैव खसायास्तनयाःस्मृताः । N. M. 72.

Ancient Kashmir, was occupied by the Yakshas, R. T, BKI. 184. Yaksha—modern 'yachha', a popular family-name in Kashmir that is still *current*—the 'Raja Pandit' of the late Maharaja of Kashmir belonged to the Yaksha-Yachha family. Numerous sites of Yakshas are scattered in Kashmir. For some of their known residences in Kashmir, note, Yachha-gram or यक्षग्राम in Kashmir, Yaksha-dara (R. T. V. 87), the residence of Yaksha at the ancient site of Pravarapura (R.T. III 49), the happy families of Yaksha and Yakshis, known to the Kashmirian tradition—

यक्षस्यालापमश्रृणोत् क्रीडितं भार्यया सह K. S. S. 66, 10, 20.

Yaksha, without a wife, living in a rock in Kashmir—

यक्षः शिलायां बलवान् ब्रह्मचार्यत्र तिष्ठति ।

Yakshas' cleft or Yachha-dara already noted, Stein II 403, 420. Yakshas gave trouble in ancient Kashmir and they were driven out: the ancient Kashmirian tradition is recorded by Kalhana thus:—

आद्येनचन्द्रदेवेन शमितो यक्षविप्लवः ।

द्वितीयेन तु देशेऽस्मिन् दुःसहोभिक्षुविप्लवः ॥ R. T. 1, 184.

Thus the identity of the Yaksha of Kalidasa with the typical Yaksha of Kashmir is complete.

176. For *the Haramukut Mt.* see note 22, 34, also see Stein R.T. II, 407 To the East of the Dudakhut pass, rising to close on 17000ft. we reach the mountain mass of the Haramuk peaks whose ancient name is Haramukuta or Siva's diadem. This is explained by a legend related in the Haracharit Chintamani (H. C. C. IV 62 sqq.) Their height is supposed to be *Siva's favourite residence.* Hence Kashmirian tradition stoutly maintains that human feet can not reach the peak's summit.

Note below the Kashmirian legend in the H.C.C., of Siva's visit to the Haramukuta, adopted as his permanent place of residence by Siva with his attendants and their chief Nandi and with the Ganga. The mountain henceforth designated as the Kailasa; compare this and the Nilmat legend (1231 sqq.) with the Clouds' journey to the Kailasa in the Meghaduta.

(Siva addresses Parvati.)

तस्मात् त्वत् संनिधानेन कश्मीराः पवनीकृताः ।

संस्पर्धते न सोमीभिर्ब्रह्मलोकोऽपिसुन्दरि ॥ H. C. C. 4,28.

एवं विधेषु कश्मीरेष्वेष तिष्ठति वीरकः ।
तदेहि देविगच्छावस्तदालोकन वाञ्छया ॥ 29.
इत्युक्त्वा सह पार्वत्या जगाम परमेश्वरः ।
वीरकालोकनोत्कण्ठानिर्भरो नन्दिपर्वतम् ॥ 30.
अथ नन्दिसमीपं च प्रेप्सुर्देवीमभाषत ।
अस्मत्प्रवेशान्मार्गोऽसावुत्तरोऽस्तुमहापथः ॥ 39.
अस्मिन् गिरौत्वयादेवि मदर्थिन्यातपःकृतं ।
श्यामं वपुः परित्यज्य गौरीमूर्तिश्च निर्मिता ॥ 40.
इत्युक्ते शंभुना देवी प्रत्युवाच सविस्मया ।
इदानीमपि न प्राप्ता वयं यत्र स वीरकः ॥ 56.
उवाच स विभुर्देवि क्लान्तासि विसृजश्रमम् ।
इह प्रविश्य तन्मार्गमहमालोकयेऽग्रतः ॥ 57.
अथ गच्छन् पुरोदेवः पर्वतं वृद्धिगामिनं ।
क्रोधेन मुण्डितं चक्रे वामपादेन शंकरः ॥ 59.
....
एतद्धरस्य मुकुट मिति विश्वत्र विश्रुतः । 69.
इत्युक्तवति देवेशे नन्दीसानन्दमानसः ।
जलमध्यगतःशम्भुं प्रणिपत्येद मब्रवीत् ॥ 77—78.
इदंभगवन् याचे लोकानुग्रहकाम्यया ।
इदंनन्द्युदकंतीर्थं सर्वत्रैव प्रसिद्ध्यतु ॥ 81.
तेऽपि भूतगणा देव भूयासुर्भवदाज्ञया ।
*भूतेश्वरा भिधानेन; तेषां चस्यामहं पतिः ॥ 85.
मया यत्र तपस् तप्तं तत् कैलास समं कुरु । 86
एतन् महत् सरः शर्व भूयादुत्तरमानसम् ॥ 87
यत्स्पर्शात्रुद्रसालोक्यं पापिनोऽपित्वदाज्ञया ।
तवमूर्धच्युतागंगा स्थितामुकुटपर्वते ॥ 88.
सा जगत् पापशमनी प्राप्नोतूत्तरमानसम् ।
ये ये पिबन्ति तद्वारि तेतेयान्तु परांगतिम् ॥ 89.
इतितस्याभिलाषं धूर्जटिः प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ 90.

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*For identification of the 'Bhuteshvara' with the Bhutapaterās-padam in the K. S., see note 22.

177. For the climate of Kashmir, its mountain barriers of clouds from the South, see Stein R. T. II 426. Lawrence p. 24 sqq. Note Alberuni's statement—When the heavy clouds reach the mountains which enclose Kashmir on the south, 'the mountain sides strike against them and the clouds are pressed like olives or grapes'. In consequence, 'the rain pours down and the rains never pass beyond the mountains'. Hence, a different route for the Cloud in the Meghaduta.

178. For Siva's journey to Kashmir see N. M. 1231 sqq. Also compare H. C. C. version of Sivas's journey to the Kashmirian Kailasa or Haramukuta, note 176.

For Brahmāvarta Kurukshetra M. D. verse 48, compare, Naimish Kurukshetra N. M. 1238.

For Kanakhal or Ganga Dvara M. D. 50. cf. Ganga Dvara N. M. 1238.

For Visnu pada, Hansadvara M. D. 57. cf. Visnupada N.M. 1239, Hansadvara 1256.

For Manas lake M. D. 62 cf. Manas N.M. 1320.

179. Note the incident in the M. D. 54 that is pointed as taking place immediately before the Cloud reaches the Hansadvara on its way to the Kailasa.

ये संरम्भोत्पनरभसाः स्वाङ्ग भङ्गाय तस्मिन्
मुक्ताध्वानंसपदि शरभा लङ्घयेयुर्भवन्तम् ।
तान्कुर्वीथा स्तुमुलकरकावृष्टिपातावकीर्णान्
के वा नस्युः परिभवपदं निष्फलारम्भयत्नाः ॥

and compare it with the incident in the N. M. (1246—1247) that took place immediately before Siva reached the Hansadavara on his way to the Kashmirian Kailasa.

आरुरोह यदाशैलं तथा देवो महेश्वरः ।
तदा वृद्धिमगात् शैलो महतीं भूरि दक्षिणः ॥
वर्धमानंतु तं ज्ञात्वा भ्रान्त्वा क्रुद्धो महेश्वरः ।
रूपं कृत्वामहद्घोरं तदा मूर्धन्यताडयत् ॥
तदा प्रभृतिशैलोऽसौ मुण्डपृष्ठः प्रकीर्तितः ॥

also compare H. C. C. (59) for which, see, note 176. Sarabha is the name of a demon in the H. C. C. VII, who was killed by Siva's *power* given to Visnu. Visnu prays to Siva,

भगवन् बाधते देवान् शरभो नाम दानवः (29) Siva helps Visnu, who kills the demon.

तस्याभीष्टं स निष्पाद्य महादेवस्तिरोदधे ।

हरिश्चक्रेण शरभं जघान च महाबलम् ॥

The Cloud is charged with *power* by Kalidasa, the worshipper of Siva to do the same—if it meets the Sarabhas.

180. Parvati could not climb up the hill—

हित्वा तस्मिन् भुजगवलयं शंभुना दत्तहस्ता ।

क्रीडा शैले यदि च विचरेत् पादचारेण गौरी ॥

भङ्गी भक्त्या विरचितवपुः स्तम्भितान्तर्जलौघः ।

सोपानत्वं कुरु मणितटारोहणायाग्रयायी ॥ M. D. 60

cf. Nilmat.

एतान् सर्वानतिक्रम्य प्रययौ भरतं गिरिं ।

तस्यमूलं अथासाद्य देव्यैवचनमब्रवीत् ।

इहैवतिष्ठ तावत्त्वमहं यास्याम्यतः परं॥ 1241.

यथा त्वं न समर्थासि सुकुमारासि देवियत् ।

अरोढुं तेन यास्येऽहं एक एवाद्यसत्वरः ॥ 1243

वृषेण सहितो देवि पर्वतेस्मिन् हि यः पथा ।

करोत्यारोहणं तस्य महत् पुण्य फलं स्मृतम् ॥ 1242.

also compare H. C. C. 56, 57, note 176.

181 Haramukuta blessed by Siva by his residence and named Kailasa. (note 176.)

मया यत्र तपस्तप्तं तत् कैलास समं कुरु । H. C. C. 86.

इति तस्याभिलाषं धूर्जटिः प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ 90.

Haramukuta or Siva's daidem is supposed to be Siva's favourite residence. Kashmirian tradition stoutly maintains that human feet. can not reach the peak's summit, see, Steins interesting personal note on it, Stein R. T. Vol. II 407. 12n.

182. For Manasa lake on the Kailasa Mt.—

हेमाम्भोज प्रसविसलिलं मानसस्याददानः । M. D. 621.

see, note 176.—

एतन् महत् सरः शर्व भूयादुत्तरमानसम् ॥

यत्स्पर्शात् रुद्रसालोक्यं पापिनोऽपित्वदाज्ञया ।

तव मूर्धच्युतागङ्गा स्थितामुकुटपर्वते ॥

साजगत् पापशमनी प्राप्नोतूत्तरमानसम् ।

ये ये पिबन्ति तद्वारि ते ते यान्तु परांगतिं ॥

इति तस्याभिलाषं धूर्जटिः प्रत्यपद्यत ॥ H. C. C. (87—90)

Bilhana also writes (V. D. C. XVIII 55)

उत्तरमानसं ..., दत्ताश्लेषंहरमुकुटतारूस्तयानाकनद्याः ।

हेमाब्जानाम कृतवसतिं मानसादाहृतानां ॥

For Uttaramanasa lake on the Haramukuta or Kashmirian Kailasa, see, R.T.BK. III 448 and Stein's note on this, which in agreement with the above note of H.C.C. and Bilhana, identifies it with the sacred Ganga lake of the Haramukuta, see our note 67. Uttaramanas as situated on the Haramukuta is also mentioned in the Nilmata, *1320*; *a plunge* in its waters is recommended. (N. M. 1454); like the Cloud, Siva takes his bath there (N. M. 1314).

Like the manas lake of the M. D. the Kashmirian manas lake is also noted for its golden lotuses.

As the Kailasa of the Meghaduta is the Haramukuta of Kashmir, its Manasa lake is the Uttara—Manasa of the Haramukuta, with its golden lotuses, identified with the Haramukuta Ganga lake, in whose sacred waters the Cloud is asked to take a plunge, as Siva did in the Nilmat.

183. For Alaka as the *ideal* town of beauty, see, R. V. XVI 10—

वस्वौकसारामभिभूयसाहं... ।

Kalhana also compares Kashmir with Alaka R. T. I. 30, see, pp. 44.

Bilhana also sends king Ananta to Alaka—

कर्तुं कीर्त्या तिलकमलकागोपुराणांगतेन । V. D. C. XVIII. 35.

Alaka is thus the *ideal* name of the *native* city of Kalidasa Yaksha in M.D.

184. For characteristics of ancient Kashmirian towns –
Lofty houses with Vātāyanas, *gardens*, *springs*, *and ridges*, see Kalhana :—

विद्या वेश्मानितुंगानि कुङ्कुमं सहिमंपयः । R. T. 1, 42.

ते तत्राभ्रंलिहासौधा यानद्यारूह्यदृश्यते ।

वृष्टिस्निग्धं निदाघान्ते चैत्रेचोत्कुसुमं जगत् ॥ R. T. III. 359.

दृष्टः क्रीडानगोन्यत्र न मध्ये नगरं क्वचित् ।

यतः सर्वौकसां लक्ष्मीः संलक्ष्या ह्युपथादिव ॥ R. T. III. 361.

also see, Bilhana's description of Kashmir—

उत्तुंगानां मणिग्रहभुवां यत्र वातायनेषु ॥ V.D.C. XVIII. 4.

यस्मिन् किंचिन्नत दुपवनं यत्र नो केलि वापी
नैषावापी न विषमधनुष्कार्मणां यत्र रामाः ।
नासौ रामा मनसिज कथा घात भग्ना युवानः
कामं यस्यां न निविडतर प्रेमबन्धेपतन्ति ॥ Ibid. 20.

compare the above description of Kashmir with the description of Alaka in the Meghaduta, note,

यावः काले वहतिसलिलोद्गरमुच्चैर्विमानाः । M. D. 63.

मणिमयभुवस्तुंगमभ्रंलिहाग्राः, प्रासादायत्र । M D. U. 1.

पश्य, सौधवातायनस्थः । M. O. U. 25

वैभ्राजाख्यं विबुधवनितावारमुख्या सहाया : ।
बद्धालापा बहिरुपवनं कामिनो निर्विशन्ति ॥ Ibid. 8.

वापी चास्मिन् मरकतशिला बद्धसोपानमार्गा । Ibid 13-
तस्यास्तीरे रचितशिखरः पेशलैरिन्द्रनीलैः ॥

क्रीडाशैलः ……………………………… Ibid 14

185. Description of the Kailasa in the M. D.

गत्वाचोर्ध्वं दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासित प्रस्थसंधेः,
कैलासस्य त्रिदशवनिता दर्पणस्यातिथिःस्याः ।
शृङ्गोच्छ्रायैः कुमुदविशदैर्यो वितत्यस्थितः खं ।
राशी भूतः प्रतिदिनमिव त्र्यम्बकस्याट्टहासः ॥ M. D. 58.

सद्यः कृत्त द्विरद दशनच्छेद गौरस्य तस्य । M. D. 59.

The first line suggests the summits of the mountain *parcelled as it were*, the second line describes the summits as the abode of gods, and suggests that no human feet can tread them, the third line points out that the peaks are very *lofty*, and the fourth line and the following line suggest that the peaks are always covered with snow.

The description of the lower hills of the Kailasa not only shows its surface as of dark blue colour (vide above M.D.U. 14.)

रचितशिखरः पेशैलरिन्द्रनीलैः ॥

but is also based on the Kashmirian tradition of ores of *indranil* on the Haramukuta or the Kashmirian Kailasa, see, Lawrence p. 14.

Now M. D. 60 describes the Kailasa, where Siva and Parvati go out for a tirp

हित्वातस्मिन् भुजगवलयं शंभुनादत्तहस्ता ।
क्रीडा शैले यदि च विचरेत् पादचारेणगौरी ॥

and which has a Manas lake over it—

हेमाम्भोजप्रसविसलिलं मानसस्याददानः । M. D. 62

On the lap of the mountain is spreading the Ganga.

तस्योत्सङ्गे प्रणयिन इव स्रस्तगङ्गादुकूलां ॥ M. D. 63.

The above description of Kailasa agrees with the Haramukuta Mt. which as residence of Siva (NM. 1231 sqq.) is noted as Kailasa—तत्कैलाससमंकुल, in the Kashmirian legend of the H. C. C. (see note 176).

Stein's description of the Haramukta mountain agreeing with the description of the Kailasa in the M. D. is noted below:

To the East of the Duda khut pass, the summits of the range *gradually rise higher and higher* until we reach the great mountain mass of the Haramukuta peaks. *Rising to close on 17000 ft. surrounded by glaciers of considerable size* these peaks dominate the view towards the north from a great part of the Kashmir Valley. Sacred legends have clustered round them from early times. The ancient name of the peaks is Haramukuta or Siva's diadem. This is explained by a legend related in the Haracharit chintamani. Their height is supposed to be Siva's favourite residence. Hence, Kashmirian tradition stoutly mountains *that human feet can not reach the peak's summit.* The lake which lies at the foot of the N. E. glacier at a level of over 13000 feet is *looked upon as the true source of the Kashmir Ganga or Sind river* and is hence known as Uttara Ganga (or the Uttra Mansa lake, see note 67).

Stein's above description of the Haramukuta mountain agrees with the description of Kailasa in M. D.—like the Kailasa, the Haramukuta has lofty peaks that are never montonous and are varied in size (see Lawrence p.14) and *parcelled* as it were (दशमुखभुजोच्छ्वासितप्रस्थसंधेः) and covered with snow, where no human feet can reach as Siva and Parvati live there.

For Siva's journey with Parvati and their stay on the Haramukuta mount blessed with the name of Kailasa, see, our note 176, legend of H. C. C. and cf. N. M. 1231 sqq.

For the identification of the Uttara Ganga with the Uttara Manas lake see R.T. BK. 3;448 with Stein's note, and N.M. 1320 1314, 1454 and our note 182. The Ganga which according to tradition has its sources in the Uttara Ganga or the Haramukuta Ganga actually flows past the lower ridges—"उत्सङ्ग" of the Haramukut Mt. see Stein R. T. Bk. I. 57n.—(The Sindh or the Kashmir Ganga drains the mountain ranges to the north of the valley from Dras to the Haramukut.)

Again the hills of the Kailasa are described in the Meghaduta, as being studded with saffire—

तस्यास्तीरे रचितशिखरः पेशलैरिन्द्रनीलैः, क्रीडा शैलः । M.D.U. 14

No doubt, mountains in Kashmir are popularly known as having plenty of sapphire ores but in this connection it would be interesting to note the description of the *Indra Nila* stone on the summit of a hill of the Kailasa mount and compare it with the popular Kashmirian belief which puts Indra nilaka on the Haramukuta mountain or the Kashmirian Kailasa. See Lawrence p. 14.——

'Haramukuta—the grim mount, which guards the Valley of the Sindh, on it the legend says the snow only ceases to fall for one week in july, and men believe that the *gleam from the vein of green emerald* (इन्द्रनीलक) *in the summit of the mount.*, (note रचितशिखरः in the Meghaduta) renders all poisonous snakes harmless.

186 Compare तामुत्तीर्यव्रज परिचितभ्रूलता विभ्रमाणाम्·········M.D. 47 with M. D. U. 10—

मत्वा देवं धनपतिसखं यत्र साक्षाद् वसन्तं ।

प्रायश्चापं न वहति भयाद् मन्मथः षट्पदज्यं ॥

Of the two descriptions, it is the latter that seems to give a clue to the home of Kalidasa; for it indicates married-love at home that is free from kāma. See pp. 3.

186*a*. / 187. } तत्रागारं धनपतिगृहादुत्तरेणास्मदीयं ।

दूराल्लक्ष्यं सुरपति धनुश्चारुणा तोरणेन ॥ M. D. U. 12.

The Toranas so as to be seen at a distance, bearing the shape of Indra's rainbow constitute the style of buildings in ancient Kashmir. The house ef Yaksha is situated at a *short* distance—उत्तरेण उत्तरस्मिन् अदूरदेशे) from the temple of Kuvera, see, note 190-192. For bold trefoiled arches enclosed in high-pitched pediments see Arch. Sur. of Ind. (1915-16) Pre-muhmmedan monuments of Kashmir, by Daya Ram Sahni p. 49, 53. For the imposing structure of the gateways of the Kashmirian buildings see, Lawrence Ch. VI. The Kashmirian architecture with its lofty pediments and its elegant trefoild archways may be classed as a distinct style —Bate's Gazeteer, also see, Fergusson on Kashmirian architecture. For resemblance of the *lofty* trefoiled arches of Kashmir with rainbow, also see, pp. 45.

188. *Vāpis in Kashmir:—*

वापी चास्मिन् मरकतशिला बद्धसोपानमार्गा ।

हेमैश्छन्ना विकचकमलैः ॥ ····················· M. D. U. 13.

Bilhana, writes of Kashmir:—

यस्मिन् किंचिन्नतदुपवनं यत्र नोकेलिवापी । V. D. C. 20.

Abundance of pink lilies in lakes of Kashmir is well-known. The Vāpi in the M.D. is said to be at the foot of a hill—

तस्यास्तीरे रचितशिखरः, क्रीडाशैलः । M. D. U. 14.

The most charming lake with its *pink* lilies and clear water *screened behind a mountain* is the Manas Bala in Kashmir. But the Vāpi or the spring in question, we shall identify later.

189. Alaka with the Sankha and the Padma:—

द्वारोपान्ते लिखितवपुषौ शङ्खपद्मौ च दृष्ट्वा । M. D. U. 17

note, Kashmir with the Sankha and the Padma, compared with Alaka by Kalhana—

शङ्खपद्ममुखैर्नागैर्नानारत्नस्वभासिभिः ।

नगरं धनदस्येव निधिभिर्यन्निषेव्यते ॥ R. T. I. 30.

190. For the topographical sign-posts of Alaka in the M. D., compare the following topographical description of Manigam in Kashmir, by Stein. Cf. the Kailasa, M. D. 58 with the Haramukuta; the manas lake M. D. 62 with the Haramukuta-Ganga-lake, also see note 182; cf. Alaka on the bank of Ganga M. D. 63. withMayagram on the bank of Ganga noted below; cf. Siva's residence and Kuvera's temple round Alaka M. D. U. 10, 12, with Bhutesh in the vicinity of Manigam and the ruins of a temple round it. cf. the spring in Alaka M. D. U. 13, and the situation of the spring at the foot of a hill, with the Vutasan Nag at the foot of a high alp round Manigam. For Mayagrama see Stein R.T. Vol. II. 489:—District of Lahara—"comprises the whole of the Valleys drained by the Sind (Kashmir Ganga) and its tributaries as well as the alluvial tract on the right bank of that river after its entry into the great Kashmir plain........It is probable that the great *trade-route* to Ladakh into central Asia, which passes through the district added already in old times to its *wealth* and *importace* cf. Alaka's flourishing condition in M. D.) ....In the midst of the wide water-logged tract of the Sindh Delta we find the ancient Tirtha of Tula Mulya....the large spring of Tula Mulya is sacred to Maharajni, a form of *Durga*, and is still held in great veneration....About two and half miles to the east of Tula Mulya lies the village of Dugdhasrama on the main branch of the Sindh (Ganga) which here becomes first navigable....

191. MAYAGRAMA—'Ascending the valley we come to the large village of Manigam (Mayagrama) situated at a *short distance* from the right *bank* of the river (*Ganga*) 74° 52' long. 34°17' lat.

(cf. ग्रस्तगङ्गाद्रुकूलां । M. D. 63, note 187.) It is the Mayagrama of Kalhana's chronicle mentioned in connection with a campaign of Bhikshachara in Lahara (R. T. VIII 729). In the time of King Sangrama raja (A. D. 1003-28) Mayagrama gave its name to a *separate fund* (मयग्रामीण गञ्ज) which Queen Sri lekha had established evidently with the *revenue* assigned from this village (R. T. VII 126). Manigam—Mayagrama *still owns a large area of excellent rice-fields* (see pp. 24). The village itself contains no ancient remains*. But a *short distance* above it, at the *foot* of the *spur*

(cf. तस्यास्तीरे क्रीडाशैलः । M. D. 14 note 185.)

which leads up to a *high alp* known as Mohand Marg, there is an ancient *stone-lined tank*

(cf. वापीचास्मिन् वद्धसोपानमार्गाः । M, D. U. 13, note 188.)

filled by a *fine spring* known as Vutasan Nag, This is visited as a Tirtha by the Brahmans of the neighbourhood and is also mentioned under the name of *Uccaih sirna Naga* in the Haramukuta and several other Mahatmyas. *About a mile above the village* the high road leading up the Valley passes a shapeless *mound of large slabs* which undoubtedly belonged to an *ancient temple.*

(cf. तत्रागारं धनपतिगृहादुत्तरेणास्मदीयं । M. D.U. 12 see note 186a 187.)

About four miles above Manigam, a small branch of the Kanaka vahini river flows into the Sindh (Ganga). The *Kanaka Vahini*

(cf. कनकरसनिस्यन्दी सानुमान् । SAK. VII.)

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*This is explained by the *wooden* architecture in Kashmir. see, Stein II, 444. 'The city of Kalhana's own time still boasted of 'mansions which reached to the clouds,' (cf. with Kalidasa, our note 184),

(उच्चैर्विमाना, अभ्रंलिहाग्राः प्रासादः of Alaka, M.D. 63. M.D.U. 1.)

built no doubt mostly of wood just as the mass of private houses in modern Srinagar....Both Mirza Haider and Abul Fazal speak admiringly of the many lofty houses of Srinagar built of pine wood. This material was used then as now, as being cheap and more secure against earth-quakes. According to Mirza Haider, 'Most of these houses are at least five stories high, and each story contains apartments, halls, galleries and towers; see, Tarkh-i-Rashidi p. 425. That the mass of private dwellings in Srinagar was already in Hindu times constructed of wood is shown by Rajat. VIII 2390.

is a sacred river as it carries down the waters of the holy Ganga lake below *the Haramukuta* (cf. the Kailasa of the M.D. and the Manas lake, note 185)......Our survey has already taken us to the sacred sites of *Bhuteshvara*

(cf. मत्वा देवं धनपतिसखं यत्रसाक्षाद्वसन्तं । M. D. U. 10.)

marked by the ruined temples high up in the Kanaka Vahini Valley. They are closely connected with the Tirthas of Nandikshetra below the *Haramukuta glaciers.*

(cf. भूतपतेरास्पदम् । K. S. note 22.)

The village of Vangath, which is the highest permanently inhabited place in this Valley, *lies about two miles below* Bhutesvara. It is named *Vasistha asrama* in the Mahatmyas and believed

(cf. वशिष्ठाश्रम R. V. । भूतेश्वरपार्श्ववर्ती ॥ note 25.)

to mark the residence of the Risi Vasistha. Allusions in the Raja Tarangini and the Nilmat show that this legendary location is of old date."

192. In the Kashmirian tradition (H.C.C. 13) Maya appears as a firm devotee of Siva (मयश्शिवभावित: who worships 'Siva linga' at his residence—

(यस्यवेश्मनि माहेशं लिङ्गं सन्निहितं सदा)

which was demolished by the Daityas who practised Buddhism

(मयार्चितं च तल्लिङ्गमानीय क्वचनस्थले।

अक्षिपन् क्रूरकर्माणः शिववैमुख्यशंसिनः ॥)

with the above compare, Mayagrama, with the relics of a temple (can there be one of Siva ?) noted by Stein; Mayagrama already identified by us with Alaka of M.D. about which it is said—

मत्वा देवं धनपतिसखं यत्रसाक्षाद्वसन्तम् ।

For Maya as architect known to MBH., see Dowson's Dictionary of Hindu mythology pp. 207. Yakshas noted as great builders in Kashmir, cf.

स हि कारयितुं यक्षैर्यततेस्म स्वमण्डले ।

दीर्घानश्ममयान् सेतूंस्तोयविप्लवशान्तये ॥ R. T. I. 159.

192*a*. For Hiranyapura, ancient capital of Kashmir, see, note 49.

193. For Alaka, the characteristic *Kashmirian* town, and occupations of its people cf., Bilhana's description of Kashmir, see, Appendix C. also Kalhana's description of Kashmir, see, Appendix B.—also cf. the Nilmat description of Kashmir appendix A. vv. 33 sqq. For drinking in ancient Kashmir cf. note 73, for happy life of Yakshas in ancient Kashmir, see note 175., for buildings, gardens, ridges, springs, see, note 184.

194. Poem addressed to his wife (प्रिये) by Kalidasa:—

निदाघकालोऽयमुपागतः प्रिये, घनागमः कामिजनप्रियः प्रिये।
वरोरुकालं शिशिराह्वयंश्रृणु, वसन्तयोद्धासमुपागतः प्रिये॥

195. Blessings of the summer at—R. S. I. 28.

व्रजतुतवनिदाघः कामिनीभिः समेतो॥ ....
निशि सुललितगीतैर्हर्म्यपृष्ठे सुखेन॥

suggest that, Kalidasa when living in the hot country is away from home. during the summer; as well as in winter cf. R S. V. 16.

Allusions to husbands and wives separated from each other that constantly occur in the R. S. reveal the poet's own state of mind-

तुदन्तिचेतः प्रसभंप्रवासिनां। R. S. 2. 4.

स्थिता निराशाः प्रमदाः प्रवासिनाम्॥ R. S 2. 12.

हरन्तिचेतो युगपत् प्रवासिनाम् । R. S. 219.

अपहृतमिव चेतस्तोयदैःसेन्द्रचापैः। पथिकजनवधूनां तद्वियोगाकुलानां॥ 2. 22.

परिहरति नभस्वान् प्रोषितानां मनांसि 2. 29.

वप्राश्चचारुकमलावृतभूमिभागाः।

प्रोत्कण्ठयन्ति न मनोभुविकस्ययूनः॥ 3, 5.

पत्युर्वियोगविषदिग्धशरक्षतानां चन्द्रोदहत्यतितरां तनुमङ्गनानां। 3. 9

यूनां मनश्चलयति प्रसभं नभस्वान्॥ 3. 9.

उत्कण्ठयंन्ति सहसा हृदयं सरांसि। 3. 11.

प्रोत्कण्ठयत्युपवनानिमनांसि पुंसाम्॥ 3. 14.

कल्हारपद्म कुमुदानिमुहुर्विधुन्वन्।

उत्कण्ठयत्यतितरां पवनः प्रभाते॥ 3. 15.

कुमुदमपिगतेस्तं लीयते चन्द्रबिम्बे।

हसितमिववधूनां प्रोषितेषुप्रियेषु॥ 3. 23.

अधररुचिरशोभा बन्धुजीवेप्रियाणां।

पथिकजन इदानीं रोदितिभ्रान्तचित्तः॥ 3. 24.

मार्गंसमीक्ष्यातिनिरस्तनीर प्रवासखिन्नं पतिमुद्वहन्त्यः। 4. 10.

कनककमलकान्तैः सद्यएवाम्बुधौतैः
श्रवणतटविविक्तैः पाटलोपान्तनेत्रैः ।
उषसि वदनबिम्बैरंससंसक्तकेशैः
श्रियइवगृहमध्येसंस्थितायोषितोऽद्य ॥ 5. 13.

कान्तामुख द्युतिजुषामपिचोद्गतानां ।
शोभांपरां कुरबक द्रुममञ्जरीणां ॥
दृष्ट्वा प्रिये सहृदयस्य भवेन्नकस्य ।
कंदर्पबाणपतनव्यथितं हि चेतः ॥ 6. 19.
नेत्रे निमीलयति रोदिति याति शोकं ।
घ्राणं करेण विरुणद्धि विरौतिचोच्चैः ॥
कान्तावियोगपरिखेदित चित्त वृत्तिः ।
दृष्ट्वाध्वगः कुसुमितान् सहकारवृक्षान् ॥ 6. 27.
अभिमुखमभिवीक्ष्य क्षामदेहोऽपिमार्गे ।
मदनशरनिघातै र्मोहमेति प्रवासी ॥ 6. 29.

196. We observe in note 195 that the R. S. describes objects which fill the poet's mind with anxious desire—उत्सुकयन्तिचेतः, and that there are certain objects of no extraordinary beauty which excite longing—उत्कण्ठयन्ति, in the mind of Kalidasa: might it not specially be due to the home-associations of the objects such as lotuses (3·5) lakes (3·11) gardens (3·14) morning breezes fragrant with lilies (3·15) that are precisely the things so conspicuous in Kashmir?

In the verse 5·13 the poet recalls to his mind the practice which can be well-understood to be common only in an excessively cold country. Is the poet thinking thus of his own wife at home—गृहमध्ये in Kashmir, and her lotus-like face.

In the verse VI 19, 27, 29 the poet in confidence to his wife seems to relate the love—sick condition of his heart, when he is away form home, but in vv. 27, 29, gives proof of his fidelity to her and thus supports her.

197. Blessings for enjoyments of gifts of seasons to husbands and wives at home are marked with a ring of private grief in Kalidasa though he is entirely free from jealousy.

व्रजतुतवनिदाघः कामिनीभिः समेतो
निशि सुललितगीत हर्म्यपृष्ठेसुखेन । R. S. I. 28.
प्रियजनरहितानां चित्तसंतापहेतुः ।
शिशिरसमय एवं श्रेयसे वोऽस्तुनित्यं ॥ V. 16.

198. Hot winds, dust, and excessive heat,—

असह्यवातोद्धतरेणुमण्डला, प्रचण्डसूर्यातप तापितामही ॥

नशक्यतेद्रष्टुमपि प्रवासिभिः, प्रियावियोगानलदग्ध मानसैः ॥ R.S. I. 10

Kalidasa never met these things at his home in Kashmir. He considers himself a 'Pravāsi' in a 'hot country'.

199. For the homesick condition of the poet's mind, see, note 195 (R. S. VI 19, 27, 29.)

200. Compare,

श्यामालताः कुसुमभारनतप्रवालाः । R. S. 3. 18.

स्त्रीणां विहायवदनेषु शशाङ्कलक्ष्मीः ॥ 25.

भ्रूविभ्रमाश्चरुचिरास्तनुभिस्तरङ्गैः 17.

with श्यामास्वङ्गं, वक्त्रच्छायांशशिनि ······नदीवीचिषुभ्रूविलासान् ···
M. D. U. 41.

201. *First appearance of Kalidasa on stage:—*

मा तावत्, ············प्रथितयशसां ······ ···भाससौमिल्लकविपुत्रादीनां प्रबन्धानतिक्रम्य वर्तमानकवेः कालिदासस्य क्रियायां कथं परिषदोबहुमानः ।

पश्य ! पुराणमित्येवनसाधुसर्वं नचापिकाव्यंनवमित्यवद्यम् ।

सन्तःपरीक्ष्यान्यतरद्भजन्ते मूढः परप्रत्ययनेयबुद्धिः ॥ M. M. 1. 2.

202. Composition of the R. S. took place when Kalidasa was living on the Vindhyas:—

वनानि वैन्ध्यानि हरन्ति मानसं । R. S. 2. 8.

जलधरविनतानामाश्रयोऽस्माकमुच्चै

रयमिति जलसेकै स्तोयदा स्तोयनम्राः

अतिशयपरुषाभिर्ग्रीष्मवह्नेः शिखाभिः ।

समुपजनिततापं ह्लादयन्तीव विन्ध्यम् ॥ R. S. 2. 27.

This taken together with I 10, (note 198) clearly suggests that the Vindhya regions can not be the home of Kalidasa who as a Pravāsi complains against their hot climate.

203. M. M. V. 1 shows familiarity with the gardens of Vidisa—

नयसि विदिशातीरोद्यानेष्वनङ्ग इवाङ्गवान् ।

and manners and dress of the Vidarbha country; Malavika, the Vidarbha princess appears—

अनतिलम्बिदुकूलनिवासिनी ॥ V. 7.

204. For way from Kashmir to India and from India to Kashmir, cf note 61. 'The direct route from Kashmir into Hazara at present crosses the Kishna Ganga river above its junction with the Vitasta at Muzaffarabad' (Stein R. T. Bk. V. 217 n.) "The Krishna Ganga which on its route discussed in note V. 217 has to be crossed above the present Muzaffarabad in order to reach Urasa the modern Hazara" (Ibid Bk. VII, 586n).

205. Reference to the Indus Valley—

यो‍सौ···मया···निरर्गलस्तुरगो विसृष्टः ससिन्धोर्द्विणरोधसि चरन्न-
श्वानीकेनयवनानां प्रार्थितः। MM. VII.

206. Buhler writing on the wandering life of the Pandits states that besides the courts of princes the most renowned places of pilgrimage are likewise visited (Introd. to V. D. C. P. 18).

207. For Ujjain as centre of political activity and the deputation of Matri Gupta as King of Kashmir, see R. T. III 125 sqq.-

Ujjain with its famous Mahakala temple known to Kashmirian waters (R. T. IV. 162).

208. Ujjain known as a flourshing city in the legends of Kashmir scattered throughout the Katha Sarit Sagar.

209. For Kashmirian poets leaving Kashmir for India proper' see, Stein R. T. Vol II. 360.—' Kashmir has always had an over-production of intellect. Bilhana's classical example, amongst other evidence, shows that Kashmir scholars have been as ready in old days as at present to leave their homes for distant places, wherever their learning could secure for them a livelihood.' For above, also compare, Buhler—— Introd. to the V. D. C. XVII ; also Indische Palaeographie P. 56).

210. For Bilhana's grand tour from Kashmir along the high-road from the north western into Central India and his visit to Mathura, Kanauj, Prayag, Benares, etc., see Buhler. Intr. to V. D. C. 175 sqq.

211. Union of Saraswati and Lakshmi in the country of ' Anga '.

अयमङ्गनाथः –

निसर्गभिन्नास्पदमेकसंस्थ मस्मिन्द्वयं श्रीश्च सरस्वती च॥ R. V. VI. 26

211*a*. See note 49.

212. See pp. 11·

212*a*. Deleted.

213. cf. कामंनृपाः सन्तु सहस्रशोऽन्ये राजन्वतीमाहुरनेन भूमिम्। R. V. VI. 22.

213*a*. For Bengal, cf. बङ्गानुत्खाय तरसा ....R. V. IV. 36, 37.

Bengal is connected with the history of Kashmir (see references to it in the R T.) and Kalidasa might have derived his knowledge of Bengal and its *characteristics* at his home in Kashmir, before he actually visited Bengal.

For Kama Rupa, cf.

तमीशः कामरूपाणां ....भेजे ....R. V. IV. 83, 84

214. Contrast the vigorous description of the Vindhya forests, its caves, and rivers in the Uttara Rama Charit with a tame reference to the Vindhyas in the R. S. 2. 27.

215. Kashmir known as the Sāradā pītha or abode of Saraswati—Compare (appendix C).

note, Bilhana V. D. C. XVIII, 4, 6, 16, 23, 29, 103.

Also Kalhana, विद्या वेश्मानि ....R. T. I. 42.

For dramatic art in Kashmir, see, N. M. 543,569 and cf. Bilhana, note 71. Lawrence notes that the dramatic arts of Kashmir are noted to this day. Kashmir noted as the home of the Saiva agamas, whose Abhijnana Vada is preached by Kalidasa in all his works. For knowledge of medicine in Kalidasa, note for example, use of Aparijtā (note 154) The University of Taxila in the neighbourhood of Kashmir was noted for its medical studies. Kashmir itself is known as the birth place of Charaka. Kashmir is noted to this day for the study of Jyotish whose knowledge is displayed in his works by Kalidasa.

216. For scrappy account and inaccurate dates of Kalhana's R. T. before the Karkota dynasty, see, Stein's Introd, to R. T.

216*a*. See note 91.

216*b*. Some writers suggest the reading वंक्षु instead of सिंधु at R. V. IV 67. But the reading वंक्षु does not fit in, for the reasons specified on pp. 53. On the contrary, the Sindhu exactly fits in with the context. The Sindhu here does not denote the Indus for it is not known as a habitat of saffron, it denotes the Krishna Ganga in Kashmir (see note 59, 60.) which is known as a habitat of saffron to the Kashmirian writers as we shall see below. The conquests of Lalitaditya the King of Kashmir as described by Kalhana closely resemble in details of description and topography with the conquests of Raghu in the Northern Kashmir. The historian of Kashmir who is noted as a conscentious writer can not be supposed to draw his narration of real incidents in

history from an *imaginary* description of Raghu's exploits in Kalidasa and present them as real facts—though a certain amount of latitude is possible, for Kalhana is a *poet* too. In such cases of resemblance as this, Kalhana may be supposed to fall back upon ancient and popular *legendary lore* of Kashmir, which certainly formed a part of the sources of his history of Kashmir, and which might be used conventionally by other Kashmir writers. Thus the Kashmirian Bilhana, while describing the conquests of Ananta in Kashmir, *enriches his* narration by the capture of the *beautiful* Yakshis of Alakā (V. D. C. XVIII 55) whose knowlege in his case was in all probability derived from the popular Kashmirian legends, and not from the *solitary* Meghaduta of Kalidasa which also gives a description of the beautiful Yakshis of Alaka. Kalidasa like the Kashmirian Bilhana, for his description of the Yakshis may be supposed to draw on the common source, namely the legends of Kashmir. Similarly, as the conquests of Raghu described by Kalidasa agree with the conquests of Lalitaditya described by the *Kashmirian* Kalhana; the probability is that the latter namely the Kashmirian writer of the history of Kashmir did not borrow form the former, but both the writers drew from a common stock of Kashmirian legends known to them, which Kalidasa applied in the case of Raghu and Kalhana to the conquests of Lalitaditya. Let us compare.

Raghuvansa IV.

विनीताध्वश्रमास्तस्य
सिन्धुतीरविचेष्टनैः ।
दुधुवुर्वाजिनःस्कन्धा
ल्लँग्नकुङ्कुमकेसरान् 67.

काम्बोजाः समरे सोढुं
तस्यवीर्यमनीश्वराः ॥ 69.

ततो गौरीगुरुं शैल
मारुरोहाश्वसाधनः । 71.

भूर्जेषु मर्मरी भूताः--
गङ्गाशीकारणोमार्गे
मरुतस्तं सिषेविरे ॥ 73.

विशश्रमुर्नमेरुणां
छायास्वध्यास्य सैनिकाः ।
दृषदो वासितोत्सङ्गा
निषण्मृगनाभिभिः ॥ 74.

आसन्नोषधयोनेतु
र्नक्तमस्नेहदीपिकाः । 75.

Rajatarangini IV.

काम्बोजानां वाजिशाला
जायन्तेस्महयोज्झिताः ॥ 165.

तस्यप्रतापो दरदां
न सेहेनारतंमधु ।
दरीणामोषधिज्योतिः
प्रत्यूषार्कइवोदितः ॥ 169.

कस्तूरी मृगसंस्पर्शी
धूतकुङ्कुमकेसरः ।
सैन्य सीमन्तनीस्तस्य
संचस्कारोत्तरानिलः ॥ 170.

Raghuvanṣa IV.	*Rajatarangini IV.*
तत्र जन्यं रघोर्घोरं पार्वतीयैर्गणैरभूत् ॥ 77.	शून्ये प्राग्ज्योतिषपुरे निर्जिह्मंददर्शसः ॥
चकम्पे तीर्णलौहित्ये तस्मिन् प्राग्ज्योतिशेश्वरः ।	धूपधूमं वनसुद्यात् कालागुरूवनात् परम् ॥
तद्गजालानतां प्राप्तैः सहकालागुरुद्रुमैः 81.	

In the Raghuvansa, the Kambojas and the Pragjyotishas are defeated before and after the defeat of the mountain-tribes पार्वतीयैर्गणैः respectively; similarly in the Rajatarangini they are defeated before and after the defeat of the Daradas. The mountain-tribes of Kalidasa in northern Kashmir are the Daradas of Kalhana. Indeed, they denote the Daradas.

Raghu first halts at the Sindhu (67), (defeats the Huns and the Kambojas as he meets them on either side) climbs up on horseback the high elevations of the Himalayas in the north, where he meets the birch the muskdeer, and the shining herbs: (71-72) continues his march along the line of the Ganga (73) evidently the same river Sindhu where he had first halted (for identification of Ganga, Sindhu and the Krishna Ganga, see, pp. 18) and meets the mountain-tribes, with whom *fierce* battle takes place. Similarly, Lalitaditya having defeated the Kambojas, starts for the Darada country in the north of Kashmir where he meets the northern breezes (उत्तरानिलः) fragrant with the musk (for musk deer on the higher elevations of the Himalayas in Kashmir, see, note 27, 28) and the *saffron.* Thus Kalhana grows saffron in the Darada country. The Darada country we know is watered by the Krishna Ganga (see Stein R. T.) which is another name of the Sindhu which grows saffron in the Raghuvansa. (For the growth of saffron in Kashmir, see, note 60). Like the धूतकुंकुमकेसरः R. T.) signifying the shaking of the *stamina* of the saffron flowers by the wind, the line लग्नकुंकुमकेसरान् (R. V.) should in agreement with the Kashmirian usage be taken to signify the sticking of the *stamina* of the saffron flowers and not the sticking of the saffron flowers to the manes of the horses (R. V. IV. 67 see pp. 23, 24). However, the plantation of saffron along the line of the Sindhu or Krishna Ganga whose upper stream washes the Darada country, is established in Ancient Kashmir according to the conventional use of the Kashmirian writers. Thus tke Sindhu and not the Vankshu is the correct reading in the R. V. For the identical character of the mountain-tribes of R. V.—with the Daradas living in the Valley of the upper Krishna Ganga, in the north of Kashmir, their-war-like character, (cf. जन्यंघोरं) the inaccessible character

of their country (cf. आह्वरोहाग्रवसाधन:) with its supply of hardy ponies, cf; Stein R: T. VIII 2507, 2709 sqq; ibid, 2519n VII 1171 sqq; (see note 63), for the musk deer and the birch on higher elevations of the Kashmirian Himalyas see note 27, 28; for shining herbs of Kashmir cf. note 39 (R. T. IV 169, VIII 2388) also cf. Kalidasa R. V. IV 75. K. S. VI 43; thus Kalidasa who is so familiar with the topography, political conditions, and legends *local* to Kashmir, must be a Kashmiri himself.

217. "Having glutted his vengeance on Hindu temples, Sikandar turned his attention to the people who had worshipped in them and he offered them three choices,—death, conversion, or exile......It is said that this thorough monarch burnt seven maunds of sacred threads of the murdered Brahmins. All books of Hindu learning which he could lay his hand on were sunk in the Dal lake and Sikandar flattered himself that he had extirpated Hinduism from the Valley." Lawrence p. 141. Of still later times, writes Lawrence, 'the Pathan rulers are now only remembered for their brutality and cruelty and it is said of them that they thought no more of cutting off heads than of plucking a flower.'—ibid p. 197.

سر بریدن پیش این سنگ دلان گل چیدن است

Writes a Kashmiri poet,

پرسیدم از خرابئی گلشن زباغبان
فغان کشید و گفت که افغان خراب کرد

218. Kashmir, the home of poetry:

सहोदराः कुङ्कुम केसराणां भवन्तिनूनं कविता विलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषांयदन्यत्रमया प्ररोहः ॥ Bilhana
V. D. C. I. 21

काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं निर्गतं कुङ्कुमं च ।
च्छायोत्कर्षाद्‌ भवतिजगतां वल्लभं दुर्लभं च ॥ Ibid XVIII 16.

My friend Pt. Jia Lal Kaul M.A. of Srinagar repeated to me a Kashmiri proverb which is used when a man is waxing eloquent in his speech. It is this—'you are playing the role of Kalidasa.'

219. Vasistha Asrama of the R. V., Bhutapateraspadam or Bhutesh of the K. S; (Apsaras Tirtha located by N. M. above Mundaprastha of the Haramukuta) are all located on the Haramukuta Mt. which guards the Valley of the Sindh. In the upper part, of the Valley, in the district of Lahara, noted for its wealth and prosperity, under the shelter (उत्सङ्गे) of the sacred Haramukuta with its Bhutesh and the Vasistha Asrama, in the neighbourhood of Ganga lies Mayagrama, modern Manigam, the wreck of an ancient glory.

APPENDIX A.

NILMAT.

The legendary History of Kashmir.

A summary of such important passages from the Nilmat as bear relation to the works of Kalidasa is given below for easy reference, which shows how Kalidasa was brought up under the Nilmat tradition of Kashmir. Regarding the date of the Nilmat, Buhler writes, 'the mention of Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu and of his festivals shows that, *in its present form* the Nilmat can not be o der than the 6th or 7th century of our era. Its great value lies therein that it is a real mine of information regarding the sacred places of Kashmir and their legends which are required in order to explain the Raja Tarangini' (I would add, to explain the poetic works of Kalidasa, L. D.) 'and that it shows how Kalhana' (or say, Kalidasa, L. D.) 'used his sources' (vide Buhler's report on research of Sanskrit manuscipts in Kashmir pp. 41.) For recast of the Nilmat in the days of Abhimanyu I cf. R. T. Ch. I. vv. 182—186, also Nilmat sloka 1042. The Nilmat in its *original* from may be of a still earlier date.

....

यैषा देवी उमा सैव कश्मीरा नृप सत्तम ।
आसीत् सरः[1] पूर्णजलं सुरम्यं सुमनोहरम् ॥ 31.
अस्मिन् मन्वन्तरे जातं विषयंसुमनोहरम् 32.
[2]शालिमालाकुलं स्फीतं सत्फलाद्यैः समन्वितम् ।
स्वाध्यायध्याननिरतै र्यज्ञशीलैर्जनैर्युतम् ॥ 33.
तपस्विभि..........................रुपेतम्।

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1. *For lake-origin of Kashmir cf. Kalidasa* Sak. VII . . . अमृतह्रदमिवावगाढोस्मि ।

2. *For the characteristics of Kashmir cf. Kalidasa*:—for Sâli, see p. 24-25, for penance-groves of the sages in Mārcha Asrama cf. Sak. VII—अत्रभवतांऋषीणांतपोवनभूमयः; for the fruits, and flowers and beautiful women see Sak. VII 12.—M. D. U. 2.; for its pleasure-gardens, musical accomplishments-Vina, joyous life and drinking cf. Meghaduta, description of Alaka (in Kashmir), M. D. U. 3, 8, 23,. The Kashmirian *lakes* with *golden* lotuses, *mountains* such the Haramukuta of Kashmir, Nagas such as the Kumuda, figure prominently in the works of Kalidasa.

पृथिव्यांयानि तीर्थानि तानि तत्र नराधिप ।
ऋष्याश्रमसुसंबाधं शीतातपशुभंसुखम् ॥ 36.
अदेवमातृकं पुण्यं रम्यं प्राण भृतां हितम् ।
सर्वसस्यगणोपेतमनातङ्कं बहुप्रजम् ॥ 38.
स्त्रीभिश्चसुकुमाराभि र्देवालयसमोश्रयम् । 39
ब्रह्मघोषधनुर्घोष नित्योत्सवसमाकुलम् ।
केलिप्रायजनाकीर्णं नित्यहृष्टबुधावृतम् ॥ 40.
उद्यानारामसम्बाधं वीणा पटहनादितम् ।
नित्यशौण्डजनोपेतं सतां हृदयवल्लभम् ॥ 41.
नानापुष्पफलोपेतं नानाद्रुमलतोज्वलम् ।
नानामृगगणा कीर्णं सिद्धचारणसेवितम् ॥ 42.
कश्मीरमण्डलंपुण्यं सर्वतीर्थमरिन्दम ।
तत्र नागाःहृदाः पुण्यास्तत्रपुण्याः शिलोचयाः ॥ 43
तत्रनद्यस्तथापुण्याः पुण्यान्यपिसरांसि च ।
देवालयाःसुपुण्याश्च तेषांचैव तथाश्रमाः ॥ 44.
....
तत्र दक्षो ददौ कन्याः कश्यपाय त्रयोदश । 69.
मारीचाय[3] समाधत्स्व श्रोतुं नामानि भूपते ॥ 70.
अदितेस्तनया देवा दितेर्दैत्यास्तथैव च । 71.
यक्षाश्च[4] राक्षसाश्चैव खसायास्तनयाः स्मृताः ॥ 72.
मुनिप्रसवउक्तश्चदिव्योह्यप्सरसांगणः । 73.
कद्रोश्चतनया नागा[5] विनतायास्तथासुतौ ॥ 74.
....
तमाह भगवान् देवो वासुकिं भयविह्वलम् ।
सती देशेऽत्रपुण्योदे सरस्यमर भूषिते ॥ 105.
धर्मिष्ठैः सहितोनागै र्वसस्वामितविक्रम । 106.

3. *Māricha Kashyapa, Father of Kashmir, noted with respect more than once by Kalidasa*:—cf. Sak. VII 9, 27, 30.

4. For Yakshas, inhabitants of Kashmir cf. Meghaduta, U. 3· यक्षां यक्षाः··· see note 175.

5. *For Nagas the inhabitants of Kashmir* cf. the Nikumbha legend, note 46.

तीर्थ यात्रागतंश्रुत्वा कश्यपं पन्नगाधिपः ।
नीलोजगाम तं द्रष्टुं तीर्थे कनखले[6] तथा ॥ 139.
उपविष्टस्तदानागो व्यज्ञापयत कश्यपम् ।
पितरं तपसांस्थानं[7] यत् तत् शृणु नराधिप ॥ 142.
इन्द्रमार्गः,सोमतीर्थं[8] पुण्यमम्बुजनस्तथा ।
सुवर्णविन्दुस्तत्रैव हरस्यायतनं शुभम् ॥ 154
स्कन्दस्यायतनं[9] तत्र सर्वपाप निषूदन ॥ 155
पुण्यं हंस पदं प्रोक्तं ऋषिरूपं च मानद ॥ 157.
सतीदेहस्य सरसस्तीर्थं विष्णुपदं[10] सरः । 165.
क्रम सारेति विख्यातं सर्वकल्मष नाशनं ॥ 166-
इत्युक्तः सतथेत्युक्त्वा नीलेन सहयायिना ।
जगाम तानि तीर्थानि ज्ञातानिपूर्वमेवतु ॥ 167.
दृष्ट्वा स मद्रविषयं शून्यं प्रोवाच पन्नगम् ।
किमर्थं नीलदेशोऽयं मद्राणां शून्यतां गतः ॥ 177.

नीलउवाच—

भगवन् विदितं सर्वं यथा पूर्वं मया शिशुः ।
पालितः संग्रहसुतो दैत्यो नाम्ना जलोद्भवः ॥ 179.
एतेवै मुख्यतस्तेन देशाः शून्यीकृताः प्रभो । 183.
निग्रहे भगवन् तस्य कुरु बुद्धिं जगद्धिताम् ॥ 184.

एवमुक्त च नीलेन, कश्यपः,

आजगाम सतीदेशं विमलं तत् सरोवरम् ।
तत्रस्नात्वा च जप्त्वा च ध्यात्वा ध्येयं सनातनम् ॥ 188.
आगच्छध्वमिति समाहूय सुरान् सर्वान् कृतोत्साह उवाचह । 200.

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6. Kalidasa in M. D. notices Kanakhal and not the famous Hardwara M. D. 50.

7. Vide Sak. act VII Māricha Asrama—तपःसंसिद्धिरोच ऋषीणां तपोवनभूमयः

8. Nila takes Kashyapa to Somatirtha in Kashmir, similarly, Kalidasa takes Kanva of the Kashyapa Gotra to Somatirtha (in Kashmir). See note 34a.

9. Kalidasa may be familiar with a Skanda's temple in Kashmir, see, note 10.

10. cf. Hansadvara and Visnupada in Kalidasa, M. D.

नौबन्धन मथासाद्य स्थित्वा ते सुरसत्तमाः ॥

विचार निरता स्तस्थुः किं कार्यमिति चिन्तया । 213.

तत्र मध्यशिखरे रुद्रो दक्षिणे शिखरे हरिः

उत्तरे शिखरे ब्रह्मा तेषामनुसुरासुराः 216.

अथ जनार्दनः, अनन्तमाह,

कुरुष्व लांगलेन त्वं विदार्याद्यहिमालयं ॥

इदं सरोवरंदिव्यं निष्तोयं शीघ्रमेवतु । 218.

विदारयामास स लांगलेन ।

हिमाचलं शैलवरं प्रथिव्याम् ॥

विदारिते पर्वत राजराजे ।

विनिर्ययौ तज्जलमाशुवेगात् ॥ 221.

हरिस्तत्र चक्रेण,

चिच्छेद दैत्यस्य शिरः प्रसह्य, ब्रह्माततस्तोषमुपाजगाम । 227.

ब्रह्मा विष्णुश्च शम्भुश्च येषु शृंगेष्व वस्थिताः ॥ 228

तानेतान् शिखरान् पश्य ब्रह्मविष्णु महेश्वरान् ।

नौबन्ध शिखरं यत्तु स एव नृप शंकरः ॥ 231.

एतान् हि दृष्ट्वा मुच्यन्ते येपिदुष्कृतिनो नराः । 232.

योऽसौ विष्णुपदोनाम क्रमसारे प्रकीर्तितः ॥

तस्योदगा श्रमं चक्रे ब्रह्मदेववरः स्वयम् । 233.

पश्चार्धे चाश्रमं[11] चक्रे कश्यपो भगवान् ऋषिः ॥

यस्मिन् देशे स्थितो विष्णु र्विजयं प्राप्तवांस्तदा । 234.

आत्मनश्चाश्रमं चक्रे —

अन्ये च देवाः सरासिवितोयेऽथ पृथक् पृथक् ॥ 238.

गन्धर्वाप्सरसोयक्षाः शैलेन्द्राश्च सगुह्यकाः । 240.

देवर्षि नागमुख्येष्वधिष्ठितेष्वथ कश्यपः[12] ॥

उवाच वरदं विष्णुं हस्तौ बद्ध्वापुरस्थितः ॥ 260.

सांप्रतं चापिभगवन् देशोऽयं देवमानुषैः ।

वस्तव्यो रमणीयश्च पुण्यश्च भविता तथा ॥ 263.

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11. For Māricha Asrama, see, Sak. VII 9.
12. cf. the Nikumbha legend in sequel, with the Nikumbha of R. V. II, see, note 46.

कश्यपे ब्रुवतीत्येवं नागावचनमब्रुवन् ॥ 264.
न वयं मानुषैः सार्धं वसाम मुनि पुंगव ॥ 266.
तानुवाच तथाक्रुद्धः कश्यपोवै प्रजापतिः ।
तस्मात् पिशाचैः सहितावसध्वं नात्रसंशयः ॥ 267.
एवं शप्ते कश्यपेन नीलः प्राञ्जलिरब्रवीत् ॥ 268.
क्षन्तु मर्हसि ब्रह्मन् मे नैतदर्हाइमे किल ॥ 275.
एव मुक्तः सनीलेन ऋषिः परमधार्मिकः ।
उवाचवचनं चारु कश्यपोऽथ प्रजापतिः 276.
वालुकार्णवमध्ये तु द्वीपः षड् योजनायतः ।
तत्र सन्ति पिशाचाये दैत्यपक्षाः सुदारुणाः ॥ 277.
तेषांतु निग्रहार्थाय पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली ।
निकुम्भ नाम। धर्मात्मा कुवेरेण तुयोजितः ॥ 278.
चैत्र्यां याति सदा योद्धुं पिशाचैर्बहुभिः सह ।
पञ्च कोट्यः पिशाचानां निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनाम् ॥ 279
निकुम्भःपुनरायाति पञ्चकोटिवृतो वली ।
शुक्लाश्वयुक् पञ्चदश्यां नित्यं देव प्रसादतः ॥ 282
हिमालयेतु षण् मासान् वसत्येष सदा सुखी ।
अद्य प्रभृतिषण् मासान् तस्येह वसतिर्मया ॥ 283.
दत्तेति सहितस्तेन ससैन्येनेति वत्स्यथ ।
षण् मासान् मानवैः सार्धं निकुम्भे निर्गते सदा ॥ 284.
एव मुक्तस् तदा नीलः पितरं चाह धार्मिकः ।
नित्यमेवहि वत्स्यामो मनुष्यैः सहिता वयं ॥ 285.
न पिशाचैस्तु वत्स्यामो दारुणैर्दारुणप्रियैः ।
एवं ब्रुवति नागेन्द्रे नीलं विष्णुरभाषत ॥ 286.
मुनि वाक्यं तु भविता नीलैवंतु चतुर्युगं ।
ततः परन्तु सुखिनो मनुष्यैः सह वत्स्यथ ॥ 287.
त्वयोक्तं च सदाचारं पालयिष्यन्ति ये जनाः ।
तेऽत्र देशे धान्य पुत्र पशु पौत्र समन्विताः ॥ 290.

कः प्रजापति रुद्दिष्टः **कश्यपश्च प्रजापतिः**[13] ।
तेनासौ निर्मितो देशः कश्मीराख्यो भविष्यति ॥ 291.
नाना देश समुत्थैस्तु ततः प्रभृति मानवैः ॥302.
चतुर्वर्णान्वितैः शूरवीर विद्वत् समागतैः ।
देशे वसति षण् मासान् षण मासान् **पिशिताशनैः**[14] ॥ 303.
एवं वसत्सु प्रययौ कश्मीरेषु चतुर्युगाः ॥ 424.
अश्वयुज्यामतीतायां निर्ययुर्मानवा बहिः ।
काश्यपश्चन्द्र देवाख्यो वृद्धो ब्राह्मण पुंगवः ॥ 425.
ननिर्जगाम निर्वेदात् चोदितोऽर्थेन भाविना ।
क्रीडा निमित्तं च भयान् निकुम्भ स्यानुयायिनां ॥ 426.
ब्राह्मणेन पिशाचास्तु चिक्रीडुस्तेन ते तदा ।
रज्जुबद्धेन[15] **तु** यथा पक्षिणा नृपदारकाः ॥ 427
हिमेन शीतेन तथा पिशाचैः संपीड्यमानो द्विज वृद्धवर्य्यः ।
बभ्राम तत्रैव विमूढचेता भ्रमन् ययौ यत्र स नागराजः ॥ 429.

तत्र वरं ययाचे—

गृहानिह नरास्त्यक्त्वा पुराणि विविधानि च ।
गच्छन्ति **हिमभीता**[16] ये ते वसन्त्विह नागराट् ॥ 465.

अथ नागराजः,

[17]**चीनांशुकेन** शोभितः, **महात्मना पिशाचेन निकुम्भेन** सेव्यमानः,
तं ब्राह्मणं कश्मीरायां वसत्यर्थं सदाचारान् जगाद ;
तदा प्रभृतिदेशेऽस्मिन् स्वल्पं निपताति हिमम् ।
जनाश्च नीलवाक्यानि पालयन्तोऽनिशं मुदा ॥ 478.
ऋबुश्च सततं प्रीताः षाण्मासिकज्वरोज्झिताः ॥ 479.

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13. Kashyapa Prajapati, Father of Kashmir, noted thrice by Kalidasa, Sak. VII 9, 27, 30.

14. As is the Lion, eater of raw flesh, in the R. V. II.

15. For the metaphor of string in the context, see, R. V, II 28.

16. cf. K. S. I. 3. See pp. 10.

17. For चीनांशुक cf. K. S.——also Sak. I. 31.

गोनन्द उवाच—

कआचारश्च नीलेन चन्द्रदेवाय भार्गव ।

पुरा प्रोक्तश्च तान् मह्यं कथयस्व महामते ॥ 480.

(वृहदश्व उवाच—यन्नीलेनोक्तं तच्छृणु इति) नील उवाच—

अश्वयुज्यां निकुम्भ[18]स्तु नित्यमायाति कश्यप ॥ 483.

पूजार्थं तस्य कर्तव्या कौमुदी तां निबोधत ॥ 484.

ततः पूजा निकुम्भस्य कर्तव्या कृषरेण तु ॥ 489.

पूजनीया च सुरभि गोमद्भिः पुरुषैस्तथा ॥ 490.

तस्मिन्नहन्निपूर्वाह्ले निकुम्भस्यानुयायिनः ॥ 499.

आविशान्ति नरान् सर्वान् पिशाचा घोरदर्शनाः ॥ 500.

त्रयोदश्यां ततः पूज्या जनायैरंगजीविनः[19] 543.

कार्तिक्यांसमतीतायां संप्राप्ते प्रथमेऽहनि !

कश्मीरा निर्मिता पूर्वं कश्यपेन महात्मना ॥ 561.

तस्मात् तत्र दिने कार्य उत्सवस्तत्र मानवैः ।

पानं च पानपैर्पेयं[20] वस्त्रंधार्यं तथानवम् ॥ 563.

मार्गशीर्षस्य अष्टम्यां—

संविभाज्याश्च मित्रार्थे नटनर्तकाः[21] ॥ 564.

पूर्णमासीं तु तां प्राप्य मार्गशीर्षस्य मानवः ।

नक्ताशी[c] पूजयेत् चन्द्रं शुक्ल[d]माल्यादिभिर्गृही[a] ॥ 573.

कान्तंरूपमवाप्नोति सौभाग्यं[b] विपुलं स्त्रियः ।

[22]स्त्रीभिर्विशेषतः कार्याः पूर्णमास्यः द्विजोत्तम ॥ 578.

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18. *Nikumbha legend again*, see, note 46 (reference is to previuos notes everywhere).

19. Kashmir noted for its special class of Dramatists, cf. note 71.

20. See note 73.

21. cf. note 71.

22. cf. V. U. III; Iravati's fast and worship of the moon in company with her husband[a] (संनिहितेनदेवेन), the fast is named by her भर्तुः प्रियानुप्रसादनंनाम[b], food is not taken by her before night-fall[c] — व्रतेनगात्रं ग्लपयस्वकारणम् (13) Iravati is dressed in white[d] सितांशुकामङ्गलमात्रभूषणा (12).

यस्मिंस्तु वासरे विप्र पतेच्च प्रथमं हिमम् ।

तत्रपूज्यस्तु हिमवत् हेमन्तशिशिरावुभौ ॥ 574.

फलपुष्पे प्रदातव्ये नमेरुप्रभवे तथा ॥ 581.

[23]नवंतुभक्ष्यंपातव्यं मद्यपैःपतितेहिमे ॥ 584.

महीमानवर्णनं—

[24]मद्यंतु मद्यपैर्पेयं ब्राह्मणैः, पानका शुभाः ॥ 644.

फाल्गुणपौर्णमासीवर्णनम्—

द्वितीयेह्नितथा प्राप्ते प्रेक्षा देया द्विजोत्तम ।

[25]नर्तकानां नटानां च चारणानां तथैव च ॥ 649.

(कृष्यारम्भ);[26] सुहृद्भार्या सुतैः सार्धं वाद्यशब्दैर्मनोहरैः ।

तत् सर्वं चैव कर्तव्यं गीतनृत्त समाकुलम् ॥ 669.

चैत्रकृष्णपिशाच चतुर्दशी—

तस्यांविप्रचतुर्दश्यां निकुम्भः शंकरं सदा ॥ 675.

[27]संपूजयति धर्मात्मा सानुयात्रो महाबलः ।

पूजनीयोनिकुम्भश्च पिशाचाधिपतिर्बली ॥ 679.

नववत्सर प्रथमेद्दिने ऋतु षट्कं तथा पूज्यं ॥ 696.

शंखपद्मनिधी पूज्यौ भद्रकाली[28] सरस्वती ॥ 706.

(बालरक्षा Chaitra Sukla 6 th.)

स्कन्दस्य[29] तत्र कर्तव्या पूजामाल्यैः सुगन्धिभिः ॥ 769.

(चैत्र शुक्ल भद्रकालीनवमी) संपूजयेत् भद्रकालीं[30] ॥ 772.

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23. See note 73.

24. cf. note 73.

25. cf. note 71.

26. Singing in the fiields R. V. IV 20 शाक्निगोप्यो जगुर्यथ:

27. For Nikumbha as a worshipper of Siva, see, note 46.

28. Note worship of Kāli in Kashmir, see, notes 171, 169 mention of Kāli, K. S. VII 39. For Sankha and Padma' cf. M.D.U. 17.

29. The Cloud in M. D. worships Skanda for his safe journey (रक्षा, see, note 10.)

30. See above note 28.

(बुद्धजन्ममहोत्सवः)

बुद्धार्चास्थापनं कार्यं ॥ ....813.

एतत् सर्वं तथा कार्यं नट नर्तकसंकुलं[31] ॥ 814

धनं च शक्त्या दातव्यं येनरा रंगजीविनः[32] ॥ 840

गुडोपेतास्तथाधानाः[33] ॥ 886.

नीराजनानवमी अश्विनकृष्णौ; आयुधानि च पूज्यानि ॥ 932

[34]नीराजनाख्या विज्ञेया ॥ 933.

अतःपरंपूजनीयाजनाये रंगजीविनः ।

[35]कालदोषसमुच्छिन्नं यत् किंचिन्नीलभाषितम् ।

तत्सर्वं कुरु राजेन्द्र मम वाक्येनमानवः ॥ 1042.

गोनन्द उवाच—

प्राधान्येन तु ये नागाः कश्मीरेषुकृतालयाः नामतः·········श्रोतु मिच्छ मि·····················स्तानहम्··· 1050

बृहदश्व उवाच—

शंखपालः,1053. द्वौपद्मौ, 1055. मानसश्चैव 1060. तथैवोत्तर मानसः, यक्षः, 1088. कुमुदः, 1089..................येषां चयः न शक्यं मया राजन् वक्तुं वर्षशतैरपि ।

षडंगुल्यो नागः, मनुष्याणां स दारांश्च हरत्यहरहः पुरः[37]......1134.

गोनन्द उवाच—

भगवन् श्रोतुमिच्छामि पुण्यान्यायतनान्यहं ।

कश्मीरेषु च देशेषु दर्शनं संप्रकीर्तय ॥ 1160.

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31. Note importance of Dramas in ancient Kashmir, see, note 71.

32. See note 71.

33. See note 102, R. S. 5 16—प्रचुरगुडविकारः स्वादुशाली, staple food of Kalidasa.

34. Nirājanā referred to, by Kalidasa, R. V. IV 25.

35. Suggests *Recast of the Nilmat* in the 6th the cent. A. D. (see verse 813 and Buhler), indicates its previous existence in Kashmir.

36. For Manasa lake see, M. D., for Kumuda Nāga see R.V. XVI 76.

37. For elopement of women in Kashmir, cf. Vikrama Urvasi I.

बृहदश्व उवाच—

शच्याः[38] समीपे पौलस्त्यं दृष्ट्वा स्कन्दं नराधिप ॥ 1166.

पौलस्त्य निर्मितं शक्रं भरद्वाज कृतं तथा।

कश्यपं कण्वमगास्त्यं वाशिष्ठं च शतक्रतुम् ॥ 1169.

दृष्ट्वाधनेश्वरं[39] देवं वितस्ताच्च समीपतः ॥ 1178.

[40]दुर्गादेवी—

कार्तवीर्यार्जुन स्वामी नामांकं च दिवाकरं 1189.

कश्यपस्वामिमार्तण्ड[40a] विश्व गश्च कृतं रविः ॥ 1189.

सुचन्द्रेशं सुचक्रेशं सुरभिस्वामिनं रविम् ।

कामेशं सवसिष्ठेशं[41] भूतेशं[42] सगणेश्वरं ॥ 1195.

सूर्येश्वरं...धनदेश्वरं[43]

दृष्ट्वैवसर्व पापेभ्यो मुच्यते नात्र संशयः ॥ 1198.

सदा सन्निहितो राजन् देवोभूतेश्वरो हरः[44] ।

मुच्यतेः किल्विषैः सर्वैः तत्र दृष्ट्वैवनन्दिनं ॥ 1199

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तद्रानंदी—

शुभं हिमवतः शृंगं[45] हरमुकुट मित्यधः ।

यदस्ति लोके विख्यातं गंगा प्रभव मुत्तमम् ॥ 1231.

जगाम सहसा तत्र तपसिकृतनिश्चयः ।

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38. For Sachi Tirtha and the Sakravatara, see, Sak.——cf. Indra mārga N. M. 154.

39. cf. Kuvera Bhawan in V. U. and Dhanapati Graha in M.D.

40. Note the temples of Durgā or Kali in Kashmir. .

40*a*. For the sun worship in Kashyapa Asrama cf. Sak. VII 11, K. S. (Gauri Sikhara) V. U. (Martand suryopasthan.)

41. For Vasistha Asrama cf. R. V. II.

42. cf. Bhutapateraspadam K. S.

43. Kuvera's temple cf. धनपतिगृहात् M. D. U. . . .round Alaka.

44. Again cf. सत्वादेवं धनपतिसखं यत्रसाक्षादवसन्तं M. D. U.—residence of Siva round Alaka; cf. Bhutapaterspadam with Nandi and Ganas; K. S.

45. Cf. हिमाद्रिप्रस्थ K. S. with Haramukuta, or the Kailasa in Kashmir; cf. Kailasa of the Meghaduta, see, H. C. C. note 176.

यस्यश्रृंगस्य पूर्वार्द्धे सरोऽस्ति विमलोदकं ॥ 1232.

आराधयामास हरं रुद्रजापरतोजले ॥ 1234.

देव्यासह ततो देवो मार्गेण क्षितिगामिना ॥ 1236.

आययौ वृषमारूढोऽलक्षितं परमाद्रितः ।

स प्रयागमतिक्रम्य तथायोध्यांमहीपुरीं ॥ 1237.

पुण्यं च नैमिषारण्यं गंगाद्वारमतः[46] परं ।

स्थानेश्वरात् कुरुक्षेत्रं ततो विष्णुपदं शुभं ॥ 1238.

तथा विष्णुपदं सरः

एतान् सर्वानतिक्रम्य प्रययौ भरतं गिरिं ॥ 1240.

तस्य मूलमथासाद्य देव्यै वचन मब्रवीत् ।

इहैव तिष्ठ तावत् त्वं अहं यास्याम्यतः परं ॥1241.

वृषेण सहितो देवि पर्वतेऽस्मिन् हि यः पथा ।

करोत्यारोहणं तस्य महत् पुण्यफलं स्मृतं ॥ 1242.

यथा त्वं न समर्थाऽसि सुकुमाराऽसि देवि यत्[47] ।

आरोढुं तेन यास्येऽहमेक एवाद्य सत्वरः . ॥ 1243.

तस्मा द्देशात् प्रवृत्तस्तु गन्तुं देव वरः पथा ।

पथीश्वराख्यस्तत्रेष्टो देवस्यायतनोऽभवत् ॥ 1244.

आरुरोह यदा शैलं यथा देवो महेश्वरः ।

तदा वृद्धिमगात् शैलो महतीं भूरि दक्षिणः ॥ 1245.

वर्धमानं तुतं ज्ञात्वा श्रान्त्वा क्रुद्धो महेश्वरः ।

रूपं कृत्वा महद्घोरं तदा मूर्धन्यताडयत्[48] ॥ 1246.

तदा प्रभृति शैलोऽसौ मुण्डपृष्ठः प्रकीर्तितः ॥ 1247.

अप्सरोभिर्युतो यत्र तीर्थमप्सरसां हितत्[49] 1254.

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46. Cf. Cloud's route in M D. the famous name Haradvara does not occur here or in the M. D. either.

47. Cf. M. D. 60 गमभुनादत्तहस्ता यदि च विचरेत् पादचारेणगौरी सोपानत्वंकुरु

48. Cf. M. D. 54 येलङ्घयेयुर्भवन्तं

49. Cf. Apsaras Tirtha Sak. VII; for its exact location tallying with N. M. see note 34.

ततो ब्रह्मसरो[50] नाम दृष्ट्वा तीर्थं मनोहरम् ।
हंसरूपधरः शैलं पाटयामास सत्वरम् ॥ 1255.
हंसद्वारमिति[51] प्रोक्तं सर्वकिल्बिष नाशनम् ॥ 1256.
हंसरूप धरं दृष्ट्वा ब्रह्मा देवं महेश्वरं ।
जानुभ्या अवनिं गत्वा ववन्देपरमेश्वरम् ॥ 1258.
दृष्ट्वा च प्रणतंदेवं ब्रह्माणं जगतः पतिम्,
प्रणम्य शक्रस्तुष्टाव यथा तच्छृणु भूपते ॥ 1259.

शक्र उवाच

[52]नमस्तेदेवदेवेश जगत् कारण कारण ॥ 1260.
त्रैलोक्यनाथसर्वज्ञ सर्वेश्वरनमोस्तुते ।
त्वत्तोऽन्यं नैव पश्यामि जगतोऽस्येहकारणम् ॥ 1261.
त्वया सर्व मिदं व्याप्तं त्रैलोक्यं सचराचरम् ।
स्रष्टा त्वमस्य सर्वस्य संहर्ता पालकस्तथा ॥ 1262.
यदुन्मीलयसि नेत्रे त्रैलोक्यस्योद्भवस्तदा ।
भवतीहजगन्नाथ यदा स्वपिसि वैतदा ॥ 1263.
तदेतद्खिलं देव त्रैलोक्यंसंप्रणश्यति ।
भूमिर्धृता धारयते त्वयेदं सचराचरम् ॥ 1264.
शब्दयोनिस्तथाकाशं जगद्धारयतेप्रभो ।
वीर्यंएते महाभाग त्वञ्चप्रोक्तस्तथाऽपरः ॥ 1265.
त्वंबुद्धिस्त्वंतथैवात्मा सर्वस्यास्य प्रकीर्तितः ।
अव्यक्तः पुरुषश्चैव रजः सत्वं तमस्तथा ॥ 1266.
इन्द्रियाणी न्द्रियार्थाश्च भूततन्मात्र संगकः ।
ज्ञाता ज्ञेयं तथा क्षेत्रं क्षेत्रज्ञः परमेश्वरः ॥ 1267.
ध्याताध्यानं तथा ध्येयं यज्ञाश्च विविधास्तथा ।
सर्वमेतत्त्वमेवैकस्त्वत्तः किमपरं प्रभो ॥ 1268.
यन्नतोऽस्मिमहाभाग तत्रमे संशयोमहान् ।

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50. For Brahmasara cf. R. V. XII, 60, see note 43, 22.

51. Cf. M.D., Siva strikes the Mundaprishtha before he reaches the Hansadvara so does the Cloud strike the Sarabhas before it reaches the Hansadvara. The Cloud could not possibly strike the mountain, thus the mythical Sarabha was substituted; also see note 179.

52. Cf. Indras' prayer to Brahmā in K. S. II, see, note 117.

बृहदश्व उवाच—

एवमुक्तस्तुशक्रेण ब्रह्मा वचनमब्रवीत् । 1269
मा मा शक्र वदेदेवम भिज्ञातोऽसिपुत्रक ॥
एष सर्वेश्वरःशक्र एष कारणकारणम् ।
एष चाचिन्त्यमहिमा एष ब्रह्मसनातनम् ॥
स एष सर्वकर्ता च सर्वज्ञश्च महेश्वरः ।
यदिच्छया जगदिदं वर्वर्ति सचराचरं ॥
यस्यशक्तिलता सेयं सूर्यचन्द्रात्मनःप्रभो ।
पुष्पिता ऽखिलमेवेदं जगद्धासयतेभवात् ॥
त्वमहं चापियस्यैव शासने समवस्थितौ ॥ 1273.
मनाक्प्रच्यवने शक्रदुजातोभवता क्वचित् ।
विभूतिमानसौ शक्र सर्वमस्यवशेस्थितम् ॥ 1274.
महेश्वरोऽसौयस्यान्तं न विदुर्देवदानवाः ।
यस्यैषाःमे कलाशक्र विभूतिः स्वर्गलक्षणा ॥ 1275.
स एष भगवान् शंम्भुः सर्वलोकमहेश्वरः ।
अस्यैवेयं तनुः शक्र कलामात्रं विभोमतम् ॥ 1276.
नाहमस्य तु तद्रूपं निरूपयितुमञ्जसा ।
शक्तोऽस्म्यनेन सत्वेन प्रसीदतु ममाप्यसौ ॥1277.
यथाऽहं तस्य श्रीर्विष्णुः परस्यपरमात्मनः ।
परंतत्वं न जानामि स तथास्य जगत्पतेः ॥ 1278.
एषाऽसौपरमामूर्तिः शार्वी परमपावनी ।
तपसा महता युक्ता यन्नतोस्मिशतक्रतोः ॥ 1280.
तं च सर्वैः सुरैःसार्कं प्रणम्यैनंप्रसादय [53] । 1281.

शक्र उवाच--(Indra' s prayer to Siva)

नमस्तेदेवदेवेश मायाधुतजगत्रय ।
यजमानोमही खं च तोयाग्नीन्द्वर्कवायवः ।
तनवस्ते विनिर्दिष्टा याभिर्व्याप्तंजगत्रयम् [53a] ॥

53. In the K. S. too, Brahmā recommends Indra to God Siva.

53a. Cf. Sak. I. 1.

ब्राह्मींतनुं समास्थाय राजसीं त्वंजगद्गुरो ।
लोकान् सृजसिभूतात्मन् तवकार्यं न विद्यते ॥
पौरुषींतनुमास्थाय सात्विकींत्वंमहेश्वर ।
पालयस्यखिलंदेव त्रैलोक्यं साक्षिवत्स्थितः ॥
कालाख्यां तामसीं कृत्वा जगत्संहरसि तथा ॥
वामार्धे[54] दयितास्थानं कथं जातं तवप्रभो ।
समाधिनिरतो नित्यं ब्रह्मचार्यधः (?) भवान् ॥ 1288.
क्षमस्वममदेवेश यन्मयासिनपूजितः ।
तवैव मायया पूर्वं मोहितेनजगत् प्रभो ॥ 1293.
प्रसन्नोऽसिध्रुवं शंभो येनज्ञातोऽसिवैमया ।
सुप्रसन्नोऽसिदेवेश प्रणतोऽस्मिमहेश्वर ॥
एवं स्तुतस्तु शक्रेण ब्रह्मणा ऋषिभिः सुरैः ।
हंसरूपं तदा त्यक्त्वा स्वेनरूपेण शंकरः ॥
जगाम ब्रह्मणो यज्ञं .... 1296.

अथ—सर्व देवगणैःसार्धं ययौकालोदकंसरः ।
ददर्शनन्दिनंतत्र शीततृट् क्षुत्समाकुलम् । 1298.

नन्दी—दृष्ट्वादेवंहरं देव्या पार्वत्या सहितं स्थितम् ।
सर्वदेवगणैःसार्धं तत्याजमरणाद्भयम् ॥

नन्दिनं शंकर उवाच—
परितुष्टोऽस्मि भद्रंते......मत्समीपे निवत्स्यसि । ......1305.
गणेश्वरत्वमासाद्य मयासह निवत्स्यसि ॥ 1308.
त्वयासहनिवत्स्यामि भूत्वाभूतेश्वराख्यया[55] ॥
तव नन्दिन् प्रतिष्ठानं वशिष्ठोभगवान्[56] ऋषिः ।
कर्तादिशे शुभेतस्मिन् ममचाच्युत भूतले ॥
गत्वा च शीघ्रं सद्विप्र तथैवोत्तरमानसम्[57] ।

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54. Cf. V. U. I. 1.
55. Compare Nandi, his Ganas, Bhutapaterāspadam, K. S.
56. Cf. Vasistha Asrama R. V. II 46 (भूतेश्वर पाश्ववर्ती)
57. Cf. M. D. Cloud asked to take a dip at the anasMa.

तत्रापिविधिवत्स्नानं विधायदृढनिश्चयात् ॥ 1314.
तस्माद्देशात् तथायाति दक्षिणेन महानदी ।
हिरण्यभास्वसा नाम्ना कनकवाहिनी[58] ॥ 1315.
सन्निधानं करिष्यामि तत्र नित्यमहं द्विज ॥
नन्दिनं च समादाय दृष्ट्वा चोत्तरमानसम् ॥ 1320.
तस्यैव सरसोऽभ्यासे शृंगं त्रैलोक्य विश्रुतं ।
अत्युच्छ्रितं समाभातिदृष्टं पुण्यप्रवर्धकं 1321.
[59]हरमुकुट मितिख्यातं आरुरोह मुदान्वितः ।
यत्रसान्निहितो नित्यं देवदेवो महेश्वरः ॥ 1322.
भयदाता च दैत्यानां सुराणामभयप्रदः ।
ज्येष्ठेश्वर सुमीपेतुवाशिष्ठोऽपिमहायशः[60] ॥ 1323.
सर्वदेवगणैःसार्धं दध्रे भूतेश्वरं हरम् ।
तस्यैवपश्चिमां मूर्तिंसचकाराथ नन्दिनम् ॥ 1325.
....
एवं सनिर्मलीभूतोरामः परबलार्दनः ॥ 1357.
पथीश्वरमथासाद्य तपस्तेपेसुदारुणं ।
नदींसम्प्राप्यपुण्योदां तदा ब्रह्मसरोद्भवाम् ॥[60a]
यदा तस्यांतु रामेण तपस्तप्तं महात्मना ।
तदा रामह्रदेत्येवं नदी सा भुवि श्रुता 1399.

गोनन्द उवाच—

देशस्यास्य समीपेतु तीर्थानिवदतांवर ।
कथयस्वामितप्रज्ञ कस्यतीर्थस्य किं फलं ॥ 1440.

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58. Cf. Sak. VII—कतमोऽयं पूर्वापरसमुद्रावगाढः कनकरसनिस्यन्दी सांध्य इव मेघ परिघः सानुमानवलोक्यते, एष खलु हेमकूटो नाम .... किंपुरुषपर्वतस्तपःसंसिद्धिक्षेत्रम् round which Kashyapa Asrama is pointed out, see, note 34; कनकरसनिस्यन्दी denotes the *flowing* Kanaka Vahini with its golden *rasa* or waters; किंपुरुषपर्वतः in the language of Kalidasa means the mountain on whose summits, human feet cannot tread, as is the common belief regarding the Haramukuta in Kashmir (see, Stein R. T. II 407) The Haramukuta is the famous तपः संसिद्धि क्षेत्र of Nandi whose penances attracted Siva to Kashmir.

59. The Kashmirian Kailasa see H.C.C. note 181—cf. Kailasa, M. D.

60. For Vasishtha Asrama round the Bhuteshvara, see, R. V.II-46 भूतेश्वरपार्श्ववर्ती

60a. Brahmasar as the source of river Ramahrada is mentioned by Kalidasa as the source of the Sarayu, see, RV. XIII-60—pp. 17.

दृष्ट्वा च गौरीशिखरं चन्द्रलोकमवाप्नुयात्[61] ॥ 1448.
पूर्वमासीदुमा राजन् नीलोत्पल समप्रभा ।
सातत्र तपसालेभे गौरवर्णं मनोहरम् 1449. ॥
उत्तरेमानसे[62] स्नात्वागोसहस्र फलंलभेत् । ॥ 1454.
हरमुण्डंनरोस्नात्वा दशगोधफलंलभेत् ।
तत्र गंगासरित्[63] श्रेष्ठा चन्द्रध्रष्टाप्रतिष्ठिता ॥ 1459.
तीर्थ मप्सरसांपुण्यं[64] ब्रह्मणःपरमेष्ठिनः ॥ 1460.
[65]हंसद्वारे तुसंगम्य स्वर्गप्राप्नोत्यसंशयं ।
सिन्धुप्रभव[66] मासाद्य राजसूयफलंलभेत् ॥ 1465.
तीर्थं सप्तऋषं[67] नामसर्वकामफलप्रदं ॥ 1476.
क्रमता विष्णुना लोकान् कृतंपादेनतत्सरः ।
क्रमसारमिदं प्रोक्तं तदा विष्णुपदं च तत् ॥ 1481.

....

तीर्थेचाप्सरसां स्नात्वा भवेत् श्रीमान् नरोत्तमः ॥ 1528.
मालिन्यां तु[68] नरः स्नात्वा दशगोधफलंलभेत् ॥ 1535.
मालिनी संगमं पुण्यं सिन्धुनासहपार्थिव ॥ 1537.
तथा रामह्रदो यत्र युज्यते सह सिन्धुना ॥ 1538.
संयोगं सिन्धुना यत्र गता कनकवाहिनी ।
गोसहस्रमवाप्नोति धनवानपिजायते ॥
विन्दुनादेश्वरं तीर्थं सोमतीर्थं पृथूदकं[69] ॥ 1566.

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61. For Gauri Shikhar cf. K. S. V. 7, note 57.

62. Cf. M. D.—Cloud recommended a bath there.

63. Cf. Ganga on the Kailasa, M. D.

64. Cf. Apsaras Tirtha Sak. V. VII., V.U.—see, note 34.

65. The Cloud is sent through the Hansadvara, M. D.

66. The source of Ganga on the Haramukuta, Uttra Ganga or Manas lake of M. D. cf. Bilhana V. D. C. XVIII 36.—स्रोतसो मानसस्य see, note—182.

67. Sapta Risi Tirtha on the *lofty heights* of the Kashmir mountains. Bilhana also indicates the site above Hansadvara (क्रौञ्च स्याङ्के भृगुपति शिरश्छिद्र मद्रे विलोका V. D. C. XVIII 35) by the side of the Ganga—सिद्धै रथ्यासिततटभुवः, स्नातसप्तर्षिहस्तै, र्यस्त्रभ्रामयत् तिलतिलकित स्रोतसोमानसस्य, cf. K. S. I. 16.

68. For Malini see Sak. see notes 41a. 58.

69. Kanva visits the Soma Tirtha in Sak.

APPENDIX B.

RAJATARANGINI OF KALHANA.

पुरासतीसरः[1] कल्पारम्भात्प्रभृतिभू रभूत्।

कुक्षौ हिमाद्रेरर्णोभिः पूर्ण मन्वन्तराणिषट् ॥ I. 25.

अथ वैवस्वतीयेस्मिन् प्राप्ते मन्वन्तरे सुरान्।

द्रुहिणोपेन्द्ररुद्रादीनवतार्यप्रजासृजा ॥ I. 26.

कश्यपेन [2]तदन्तःस्थं घातयित्वा जलोद्भवम्।

निर्ममेतत्सरोभूमौ कश्मीराइति मण्डलम् ॥I. 27.

शंख[3] पद्ममुखैर्नागै र्नानारत्नावभासिभिः।

नगरंधनदस्येव निधिभिर्यन्निषेव्यते ॥ I. 30.

तिलांशोपिनयत्रास्ति पृथिव्यास्तीर्थै[3a]र्बहिष्कृतः ॥ I. 38.

विजीयते पुण्यबलैर्बलैर्यत्तु न शस्त्रिणाम्।

परलोकात्ततोभीति र्यस्मिन्निवसतां परम् ॥ I. 39.

असन्तापर्हतांजानन् यत्रपित्रा विनिर्मिते।

गौरवादिवतिग्मांशु र्धत्तेग्रीष्मेप्यतीव्रताम् I. 41.

[4]विद्यावेश्मानितुंगानि[5]कुङ्कुमं[6]सहिमंपयः[7]

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1. Description of Kashmir agrees with the Nilmat, see Sak.—अमृतह्रदं

2. Cf. Kashyapa's praise in Sak. VII.

3. Cf. M.D.—Ideal Alaka with the Sankha and Padma see pp. 44.

3*a*. For तीर्थभूमयः of Kashyapa Asrama cf. Sak. VII. 12.

4. Cf. Sak. VII.—उत्सर्पिणी खलु महतां प्रार्थना, remark about the peope of Kashmir.

5. Cf. lofty houses of Alaka (in Kashmir) अभ्रंलिहाग्राः प्रासादाः M. D. U. 1. सितमणि मयानि हर्म्यस्थलानि, विमानाग्र भूमौ, सौधजाता यत्र.

6. For कुंकुम in the works of Kalidasa, see, pp. 23.

7. For delightful Icy-Waters cf. तुषार स्रुति K.S.I. 6 also see note 39.

[8]द्राक्षेति यत्र सामान्यमस्ति त्रिदिवदुर्लभम् ॥ I. 42.
त्रिलोक्यां रत्नसूः श्लाघ्या तस्यां धनपतेर्हरित् ।
तत्र गौरीगुरोः शैलो[9] तत् तस्मिन्नपिमण्डलम् ॥ 43.
ते तत्राभ्रंलिहाः[10] सौधा यानध्यारुह्यदृश्यते ।
वृष्टिस्निग्धं निदाघान्ते चैत्रेचोत्कुसुमंजगत् ॥ III. 359.
दृष्टः क्रीडानगो[11]न्यत्र न मध्येनगरंक्वचित् ।
यतः सर्वौकसांलक्ष्मीः संलक्ष्यासुपथादिव ॥ III.361.

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8. The only fruit that Kalidasa mentions is grapes, a speciality of Kashmir, like the saffron and the rice, both of which are mentioned by Kalidasa. But Kalidasa mentions Vineyards (द्राक्षावलयभूमिषु) R. V. IV. 65 in connection with Raghu's expedition against Persians in the West, perhaps the grapes towards the West of Kashmir were finer than those of Kashmir in the opinion of Kalidasa. In Kashmir, they say, grapes grow in abundance, but they are mostly wild. Abulfazal notes that the finer qualities are rare (see Stein R. T. II 429). There may be some fine varieties of grapes in ancient Kashmir as Kalhana mentions them with pride. But Kalidasa who has already mentioned grapes does not mention them again in Kashmir just as he does not mention by idividual names other fine fruits of Kashmir; he only suggests in general terms the abundant growth of fruits in Kashmir—प्राणानामनिलेन वृत्तिरुचिता सत्कल्पवृक्षेवने Sak. VII. 12.

9. Cf. Kalidasa's partiality for the Himalayas K. S. I. 3.

10. See M. D. U. 1 also above note 5.

11. Cf. क्रीडाशैलः in the Meghaduta, where Cloud is asked to rest itself and cast its glance at the town below:—(विद्युदुन्मेष दृष्टिम्)

APPENDIX C.

BILHANA'S VIKRAMANKA DEVA CHARIT.

Description of Kashmir, Chapter XVIII.

सहोदराः कुङ्कुम केसराणां भवन्ति नूनं कविता विलासाः ।
न शारदादेशमपास्य दृष्टस्तेषां यदन्यत्र मया प्ररोहः[1] ॥ I. 21.
उत्तुंगनां मणिगृहभुवां[2] यत्रवातायनेषु[3]
व्याख्या भिख्या प्रणयिनि जगद्दुर्लभे सूरिचक्रे ।
देवाः प्रोद्य द्विपुल पुलकाः किंनवर्षन्तिपुष्पै
र्नाशङ्कन्ते यदि सुरगुरो[4]स्तत्र वैलक्ष्य दीक्षाम् ॥ XVIII.4
ब्रूमः सारस्वत कुलभुवः किं निधेः कौतुकानां
तस्यानेकाद्भुतगुणकथा कीर्ण कर्णा मृतस्य ।
यत्र स्त्रीणामपि किमपरं जन्मभाषावदेव
प्रत्यावासं विलसति वचः संस्कृतं प्राकृतं च[5] ॥ ibid. 6.
स्नान क्रीडाव्यसन समये कुङ्कुमम[6] कामिनीनां
यत्नोत्तार्य स्तनपरिसराद्गृह्णतीकान्तमङ्के ।
ईर्ष्यामर्ष्यादिवनिरवधे र्वीचिहस्तैर्वितस्ता
कर्षत्यासां प्रतिकलिमलिश्यामलान् केशपाशान् ॥ 10.
यस्य भ्राम्यद् भ्रमरपटलश्यामकेलिद्रुमाणा-
मारामाणामविरलतया कोप्यसौसंन्निवेशः ।
यस्मिन् रामाः कुसुमधनुषं दृग्भिरुन्मार्गभर्ग-
क्रोधज्वालाकिसलयचये सुप्तमुत्थापयन्ति[7] ॥ 13.

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1. Does Bilhana believe that Kalidasa belongs to Kashmir? also see verse 16.

2. Cf. M. D. मणिमयभुवः,—अभ्रंलिहाग्राः प्रासादाः M. D. U. 1.

3. Cf. M. D. U. 25 पश्य, तां—सौधवातायनस्थः For Vatayanas of Kashmir, see note 83.

4. Cf. Surāsuraguru, epithet of Kashyapa, Sak. VII.

5. For learning, especially of women, in ancient Kashmir cf. K. S. whose scene is laid on the Himalayas (in Kashmir)—द्विधाप्रयुक्तेन च वाङ्मयेन सरस्वती तन् मिथुनं निनाय (VII: 90.)

6. For saffron, known as काश्मीरिकाङ्गराग: or the paint of *Kashmiri* ladies, see, note 92, pp. 23. The Kashmirian Bilhana, like Kalidasa, frequently refers to saffron, and its plant, in V.D.C.

7. For praise of the side-long glances of Kashmiri maidens, cf. M. D. U. 10. Thus the Kashmirian writer agrees with Kalidasa.

Further, Kashmir is noted for its *variety* of trees (नानाद्रुम N. M. 42)—केलिद्रुमा:

The trees mentioned by Kalidasa in M. D. U. 15, as sign-posts of the Yaksha's home might be the important trees of the town in those days.

काव्यं येभ्यः प्रकृतिसुभगं निर्गतं कुङ्कुमं च ।
च्छायोत्कर्षाद्भवति जगतां वल्लभं दुर्लभं च [8] 16.
यस्मिन् किंचिन्नतदुपवनं [9] यत्रनो केलि वापी [10]
नैषा वापी न विषम अनुष्कार्मणं यत्र रामाः ।
नासौरामा मनसिजकथाघातभग्नायुवानः
कामं यस्यां न निविडतर प्रेमबन्धेपतन्ति ॥ 20.

....

रामा रामानुकरणविधौ यत्रनाट्यप्रयोगे [11] ।
योगस्थानामपि सपुलकं गात्रमासूत्रयन्ति ॥ 23.
दृष्ट्वा यस्मिन्नभिनयकला कौशलं नाटकेषु
स्मेराक्षीणां मसृणकरणासङ्ग दत्तांगहारम् [12] ।
रम्भा स्तम्भं भजति लभते चित्रलेखा नरेखां
नूनं नाट्ये भवति च चिरं नोर्वशी गर्वशीला ॥ 29.
यत्र स्त्रीणां मसृणघुसृण [13] लेपनोष्णा कुचश्री
स्ता कस्तूरी परिमलमुचः पट्टिका राङ्कवाणाम् ।
नौपृष्ठस्थाः शिशिरसमये ते वितस्ताजलान्तः
स्नानावासाः प्रचुरमपि च स्वर्ग सौख्यंदिशन्ति ॥ 31.
सिद्धैरध्यासित तटभुवः स्नातसप्तर्षिहस्त [14]
न्यस्तभ्राम्यत्तिल तिलकितस्रोतसोमानसस्य [15]

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8. Does Bilhana write this with Kalidasa in his mind?

9. For Upavana, cf. बहिरुपवनं कामिनो निर्विशन्ति M. D. U. 8.

10. For Vāpi, cf. वापी चास्मिन् M. D. U. 13.

11. Kalidasa employs women-actresses. Has he inherited the dramatic skill from Kashmir?

12. Cf. women actresses (अप्सरसां ललिताङ्गहारम्) in K. S. VII.

13. Saffron paint, a real practice, in Kashmir, see pp. 23.

14. Saptarishi Tirtha located by Nilmat 1476, on the Haramukuta, round the Apsaras Tirtha, Hansadvara, and the Sindhu Prabhava, is Uttara Ganga identified with Uttara manasa (see note 182, cf. Manasa lake of M.D.), see, K. S. I. 16.

15. The Manasa stream (स्रोतसोमानसस्य) is the famous Ganga of Kashmir, cf. the Manasa lake and the Ganga, M.D.

यत्कान्ताभिः शिरसि विधृताः सारसौभाग्यलोभात्
कैलासस्थ[16] त्रिनयनवधू क्षालिताङ्गास्तरङ्गाः ॥ 36.

लब्धा लक्ष्मीर्दिशि दिशिकृताः संपदः साधुभोग्याः[17]
प्राप्ता योग्यैः सहकलहतः कुत्रनोच्चैर्जयश्रीः ।
गोष्ठीबन्धः सपदि सुजनैः सारनिष्कर्षदक्ष
प्रज्ञालब्धस्तुतिभिरचिरादस्तु काश्मरकैर्मे ॥ 103.

मन्दाकिन्याः[18] पवनचटुलोत्ताल वीचीदुकूले
कूलोत्सङ्गे विरचितवतां योगनिद्राभियोगं ।
शेषाः केषामपि परिणतौ वासराः पुण्यभाजां
शान्तस्वान्तस्थित गिरिसुतावल्लभानां प्रयान्ति ॥ 105.

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16. The Kailasa is the Haramukuta of Kashmir with Ganga and the Manasa lake; this is the Kailasa of Kalidasa in Meghaduta, with Ganga, and the Manasalake (see notes 176—182).

17. Note the enterprizing spirit and the wandering habits of ancient poets of Kashmir.

18. Thus the Kashmirian, recalls the Mandakini, in his *old age;* but the Kashmiri *youth* remembers the Mandakini thus—

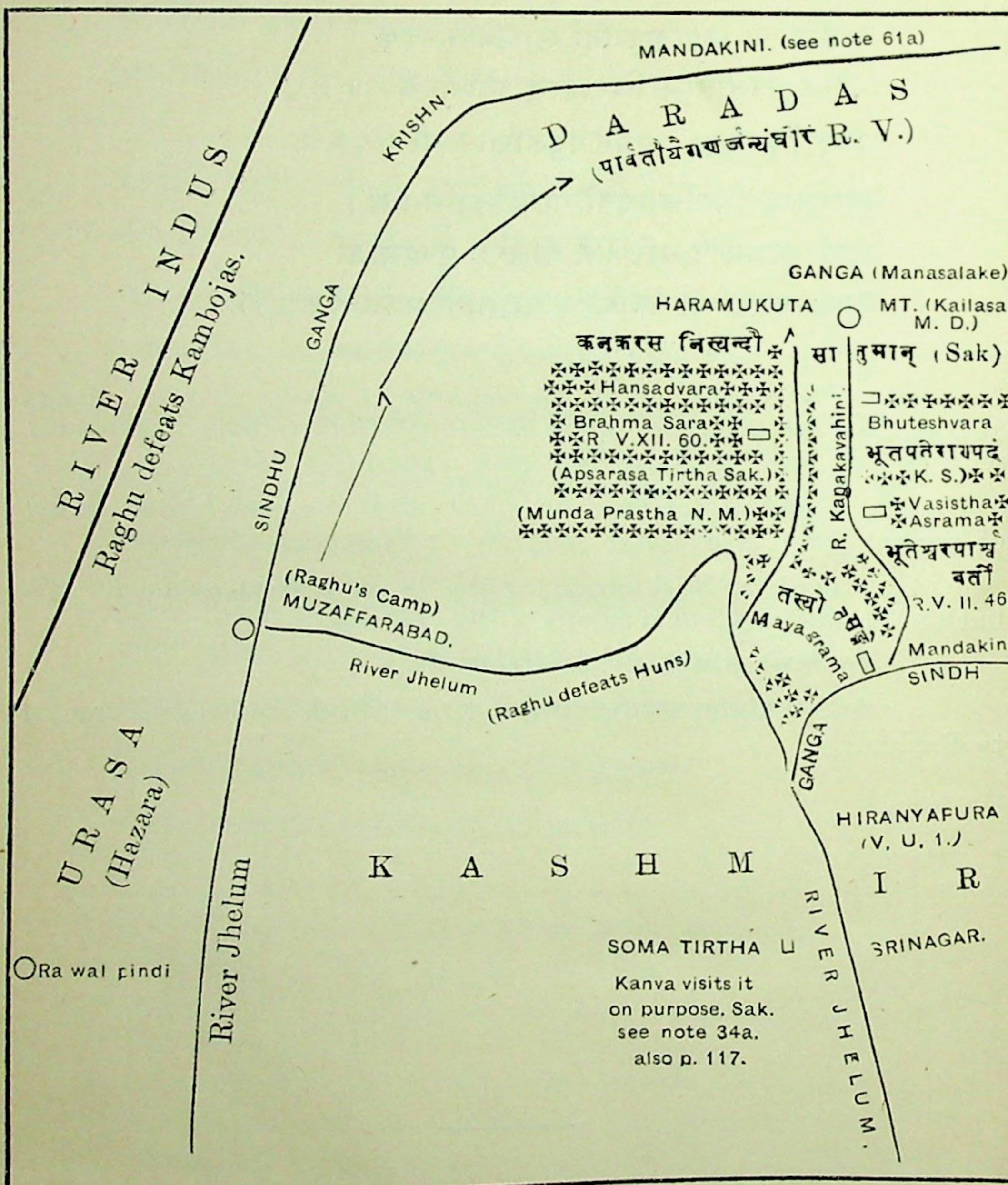
मन्दाकिन्याः सलिलशिखरैः सेव्यमाना मरुद्भिः ।

संक्रीडन्ते मणिभिरमरप्रार्थितायत्नकन्याः ॥ M.D.U. 4. Both are attracted to Kashmir.

APPENDIX D.

A rough Sketch of Ancient Kashmir as noted in the works of Kalidasa

(CF. STEIN'S MAP OF ANCIENT KASHMIR.)



1. Raghu does not cross the *navigable* Indus, he defeats the Parsikas by land route (स्थलवर्त्मना) and meets them possibly in Urasa, modern Hazara, thence he proceeds to the north, halts on the bank of the Sindhu or Krishna Gangā, round Muzaffarabad usual route to enter Kashmir; defeats the Huns in Kashmir towards

his right and the Kambojas towards his left. He next proceeds along the stream of the same river Ganga (or Krishna Ganga) to defeat the mountain-tribes (Daradas) in the North of Kashmir (see note 216 b).

2. The Cloud in the Meghaduta does not abruptly reach Mayagrama, the ideal Alaka, or the home, of Kalidasa—Kalidasa gives it various turns round the sites of the Haramukuta or Kailasa mountain, as he is so fond of them at his home in Kashmir. He also does it in imitation of Siva's journey to Kashmir (N. M; H. C. C.) (note 176 sqq.) as well as the route of the Kashmirian pilgrims to the sacred lakes of the Haramukuta (see Stein II, 408, note 22). Thus the Cloud approaches the Kailasa (Haramukuta, note 181) in the north (तेनोदीचीं दिशमनुसरेः) through the passage of the Hansadvara (p.42), visits the Manasa take (Uttara Ganga, note 182) and enjoys (निर्विशेस्तं नगेन्द्रं) the scenery of the mountain all round, till at last, it reaches the lower-hills of the mountain-range—

(तस्योत्सङ्गे प्रणयिन इव—उत्सङ्गे as it goes with प्रणयिनः can not mean ऊर्ध्वभागे, it would be absurd ; उत्सङ्गे here means कटौ or सक्थ्यनि *i. e.* on the lap of a lover viz, the lower-hills or spurs of the Haramukuta mountain)—round Mayagrama,—the ideal Alaka of Kalidasa, on the bank of the Ganga (Sindh)—स्रस्तगङ्गा दुकूलां.

3. The Sindh (Ganga) according to the popular tradition in Kashmir has its sources on the Haramukuta mountain and is noted as Mandakini by Bilhana as well as by Kalidasa (note 61a).

4. The exact site of the Apsarasa Tirtha described by N. M. 1254, and mentioned by Kalidasa (ncte 34, 53) is not yet identified. It certainly *heads* over Mayagrama in the Sindh Valley of Kashmir where Sakuntala was left in charge of Dakshayani, wife of Kashyapa, the founder of Kashmir.(अप्सरस्तीर्थावतरणात् Sak. VII pp. 11, note 36).

5. The Sachi, the Sakra, and the Sapta Rishi Tirthas, the Gauri Sikhara and the Kumuda Nag etc., all mentioned by Kalidasa and described by the Nilmat remain yet to be identified. The Sachi Tirtha, however, must be situated on the bank of the Kashmir Ganga, cf. शचीतीर्थं वन्दमानायाः सख्यास्ते हस्तात् गङ्गा स्त्रोतसि परिभ्रष्टं Sak. VI.

6. It would not be difficult to identify all these sites in Kashmir along the sign-posts marked by the Nilmat, but it is not possible for me to do so without visiting Kashmir. I hope, some fortunate scholar who can visit Kashmir, will explore the sites and put the literary world in a deep debt of gratitnde. It is up to the Kashmir Government to assist such explorations as would bring laurels to the country.

THE END.

ERRATA.

Page.	Line	Incorrect		Correct
1	15	proofs	...	fruits
3	23	pecent	...	decent
3	24	durpose	...	purpose
13	13	कौलास	...	कैलास
15	40	सान्ध्यमेघपरिघइव	...	सान्ध्य इव मेघ परिघ।
15	41	with it dark-blue stone		*deleted*
22	34, 35	the prohibition of kill- in gan eagle in the air		*deleted*
28	19	आगमः		आगमैः
30	20	tha		that
30	35	hear		heart
31	20	letter's		letters
36	22	experience		experiencer
38	29	drama of		*deleted*
53	35	17		217
58	37	तिन्तिरायाम		तिन्तिणयाम
59	23	theorey		theory
63	13	एका		एको
64	10	इदम		इदम
66	11	जल		जलं
66	15	विस्मयमुत्पादयति		add (Sak. I. Vidusaka)
67	10	or		and
70	18	knwn		known
71	15	*add* (see note 175) after 'Surely not'!		
72	19	166*a*		166
73	12	अङ्गुलीयकम्		आङ्गुलीयकम्
75	13	theorey		theory
78	10	Kalidas'		Kali 'asa
78	28	Kumbhle		Kumbha
81	13	स्वदेहः		स्वदेहं
82	13	its		it
83	4	1467		1476
83	12	(second column) रजा		रजो
88	29	M. D. U.S.		M. D. U. 3.

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
88	30	आसेवत्ते	आसेवन्ते
89	25	प्रत्तिष्ठिता	प्रतिष्ठिता
91	38	पद्मत्तामौ	पद्मताम्रौ
92	2etc.	कुङ्कम	कुङ्कुम
92	15	विस्ता	वितस्ता
95	5	सूयस्य	सूर्यस्य
95	14	तपः	तमः
97	28	for	towards
98	3	183	1283
99	25	अभिज्ञातोऽसि	ज्ञातोऽसि
100	16	विछिन्न, व्युछिन्ने	विच्छिन्न, व्युच्छिन्ने
103	1	भत्यपि	भात्यपि
105	28	सस्कार; स्वातन्त्र्य	संस्कार, स्वात्म
106	14	V. V.	V. U.
108	20	cansation	causation
108	31	परिणमां	परिणामं
119	19	V. V.	V. U.
120	24	mean	means.
126	32	सूधन्य	मूर्धन्य
127	15	अरोढुं	आरोढुं
128	3	श्लषं	श्लेषं
129	2	कार्मणां	कार्मणं
129	3	भन्ना	भग्ना
129	7	सलिलोद्गर	सलिलोद्गार
129	9	M. O.	M. D.
129	17	दर्पण	दर्पण
129	29	पेशैल	पेशलै
130	9	Haramukta	Haramukuta.
135	22	उकंठयन्ति	उत्कंठयन्ति
136	21	pieoisely	precisely
136	34	गीत हर्म्य	गीतैर्हर्म्य
140	21	form	from
140	35 (column 1)	शीकरणे	शीकरिणे
143	20	from	form
144	13	शिह्लोचयाः	शिलोच्चयाः

Page	Line	Incorrect	Correct
145	20	एवमुक्त	एवमुक्ते
148	19	यिशाचेन	पिशाचेन
148	21	निपताति	निपतति
151	12	श्रोतुमिक्छमि	श्रोतुमिच्छामि
151	note 35	6th the	delete
154	18	शव्दयानि	शब्दयोनि
154	23	क्षत्रं	क्षेत्रं
156	18	सव	सर्व
156	note 57	anasMa	Manasa